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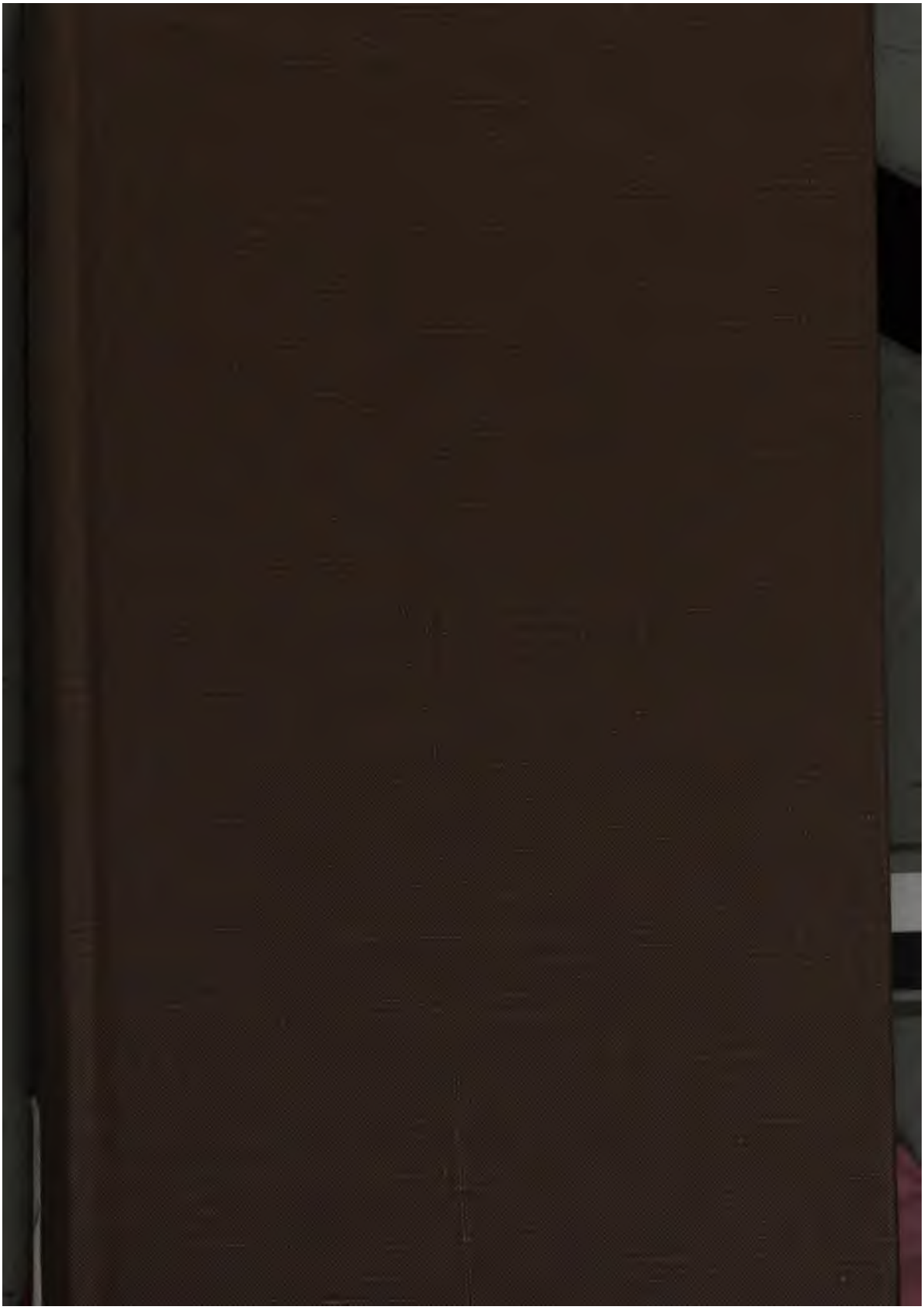

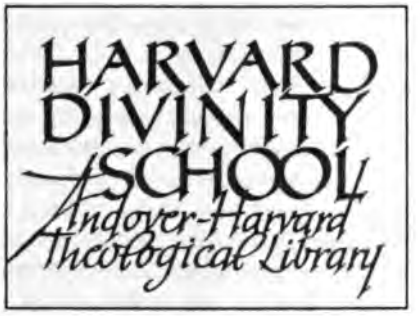
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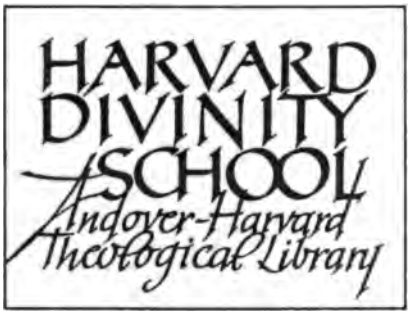
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THE

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OF

THE RIGHT REV. JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF DOWN, CONNOR, AND DROMORE:

WITH

A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

AND

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF HIS WRITINGS,

BY

REGINALD HEBER, A.M.

CANON OF ST. ASAPH, RECTOR OF HODNET, AND LATE FELLOW OF ALL SOULS' COLLEGE, OXFORD.

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AND OF

JEREMY TAYLOR.

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PREFACE.

After an anxious and unceasing labour of more than eighteen months, the Editors of the collected Works of Jeremy Taylor have completed their engagement with the public. It only remains, that they should express their gratitude to the many distinguished individuals, whose patronage has enabled them to bring their undertaking to a close; that they should shortly state the considerations, by which their plan has been regulated; and request indulgence for those defects of plan or execution, to which every undertaking of a similar magnitude is liable.

To comprise in a uniform shape, and within a reasonable compass, those productions of Taylor's genius, of which some were hardly to be obtained at all, and the rest at high prices and in volumes of many different types and dimensions,—was an object, the importance of which has been fully and generally recognised. The want of such an edition as the present was felt, both in this country and in America, not by the theological student alone, but by all the cultivators of ancient English lite-

rature; all who hold in reverence the great principles of Christian piety and religious freedom; who love our language in its purest and richest melody; and value that essential spirit of eloquence and poetry, which would alone suffice to render a language immortal.

Nor had this want been, in any competent degree, supplied by the selections from his writings which have, from time to time, enjoyed no inconsiderable share of public favour. Those republications were confined to his Sermons, his Holy Living and Dying, and some others of his devotional tracts. His Liberty of Prophesying, the first public defence of the principles of religious toleration; his Ductor Dubitantium, on which he himself expected his renown in after ages to be founded; his Life of Christ, the earliest, and, in its day, the most popular of his practical works; and his polemical writings, which display, in addition to their other excellencies, a terseness of argument and poignancy of satire, from which he was, in other instances, precluded, remained in detached tracts or scarce and unwieldy folios. And it may be said with truth, that a great proportion of his admirers had the means of becoming acquainted with a very small part only of the peculiar merits of their favourite.

It was under these circumstances, and with the reasonable hope that such an undertaking would receive its due share of national encouragement, that the writer of the following Memoirs was applied

to by the proprietors to superintend their meditated edition of TAYLOR's Works. His distance, however, from the metropolis, rendered it impossible for him to discharge many of the essential duties of an editor; and, as the expense of such a measure rendered the addition of notes impossible, little more remained in his power than to exercise his judgment in the arrangement of the different pieces, and in the admission or exclusion of those, of which the genuineness has been questioned.

The correction of the press, the verification of the numerous quotations and references, and, in some instances, the rectification of the previous readings, was fortunately undertaken by the Reverend J. R. PITMAN, the alternate preacher of the Foundling and Magdalen Hospitals; who, by his classical learning, his knowledge of English literature, and a deep admiration of his author's merits, was eminently qualified for such a task; and who has afforded a fresh proof, if proof were wanting, of the compatibility of distinguished talent and eloquence with unwearied patience, and minute and laborious accuracy.

On the arrangement, which has been adopted, a few observations may, perhaps, be necessary. The natural, and what would have been, in some respects, the most desirable order, was that of the date, at which each tract was originally published. Yet, as there are several of TAYLOR's compositions, which, at different periods of his life, received

successive additions and improvements, it was not very easy to determine, whether such should be referred to the year, in which the first and less perfect sketch appeared, or that in which it received the latest polish of the author's taste and judgment: and it was desirable for the publishers, in an undertaking of so great extent and hazard, that their volumes should be so arranged as to enable them to sell some of the more popular treatises separately. For such a classification there was, indeed, a sanction in the author's own practice, in the instance of the Συμβολον Θεολογικον, and there appeared a certain degree of fitness in printing those tracts in consecutive order, which relate to the same duties, or are opposed to similar errors. The works have been accordingly divided under the several heads of Practical, Polemical, Casuistic, and Devotional; — but, subject to this division, they have been arranged, as nearly as possible, according to the dates of their respective publication.

The task of separating the genuine from the spurious compositions involved a greater responsibility, and was not to be attempted without considerable self-distrust and anxiety. Of the two posthumous treatises, — both extremely rare, and the former of which it was necessary to transcribe, for the printer's use, from the single copy extant in the Bodleian Library, — the sentiments and piety appear in perfect unison with BISHOP TAYLOR's known opinions; the style partakes of his characteristic merits and defects, and the weight of external evidence is

such as can leave no reasonable doubt on the propriety of admitting them into the present collection.

It is otherwise with the Dialogue on Artificial Handsomeness. The reasons which, after much patient and unprejudiced inquiry, at length conducted to its exclusion, will be found at some length in the following Life and Notes; and the writer of those animadversions will here only observe, that his opinion, adopted in the first instance with diffidence and reluctance, has acquired additional strength from every repeated comparison of that Essay with the Bishop's undoubted compositions.

The Life of TAYLOR had been long only known through the meagre accounts of Wood and Sir James Ware, and the few particulars recorded by Bishop Rust in his Funeral Eulogium. As connected with the most interesting period of English history, and with the genius and writings of one whom English literature ranks among its noblest ornaments, several eminent scholars and divines of the latter part of the last century appear to have contemplated the publication of memoirs on a larger scale, and one more worthy of their subject. Bishop Horne and Archdeacon Zouch are said to have cherished this design; and a few documents preparatory to such a work were collected by the reverend and learned Mr. Nicholson, perpetual curate of St. James's, Liverpool, and rector of Dudcote, Berkshire. But the two former appear to have made no progress whatever in their under-

taking; and the papers which Mr. Nicholson left at his death, and which, in themselves, do not appear to have been either numerous or important, have eluded all the inquiries of the present writer, as well as of his learned and amiable friend, Archdeacon BONNEY.

Of the Life which the Archdeacon has himself given to the world, it is sufficient to say, that it would have precluded the necessity of all succeeding labourers in the cause, had not a more detailed and critical examination of TAYLOR's writings been contemplated than fell within the scope of his plan; and had not a hope been excited of obtaining additional information from traditions and documents, which were previously not accessible.

A critical examination of the author's genius and writings was rendered expedient by the opportunity which it afforded of discussing, in a connected view, the merits and peculiarities of a writer so voluminous; by the propriety of discriminating between his many beauties, and his occasional, though unfrequent, aberrations from a correct taste and judgment; and sometimes, also, though still less frequently, of detecting and obviating his departure from the usual and orthodox faith of Christians. Of the manner in which this task has been performed, it is for the public to decide. The writer cannot plead want of time; he is not conscious of any want of diligence; and he has had abundant opportunity to examine such of TAYLOR's works, as

were not previously familiar to him. The warmer admirers of his author will, perhaps, sometimes condemn him as unjust and captious in his criticisms; while others may accuse him of a too indiscriminate praise, and of blindness to the imperfections with which these beautiful compositions are impaired and spotted. If these charges are both brought against him, he will seek no better defence than the balance of conflicting censures. But he will admit, that, of the two, he has most dreaded the latter danger, as the one most injurious to the interests of literature and religion, and that to which an ardent admirer of TAYLOR's excellencies is, naturally, most liable.

From the works thus censured or extolled, it was obviously necessary to select particular passages in illustration of the principles laid down, or in justification of the criticisms hazarded. If those quotations should be thought too long or too frequent, let it be remembered that many may, perhaps, be tempted to read them in a compendious form, who would, without some previous introduction to the author's beauties, have been little inclined to search for them through fourteen closely printed volumes. And let it be observed that, though some of the passages in question may have been extracted to make good a censure, or on account of their eloquence or their singularity, — a still greater anxiety has been felt to bring forward those, which contain the most useful precepts of sound sense and practical holiness.

That the wise, and moderate, and eminently Christian spirit of JEREMY TAYLOR; his unshaken fidelity to the civil and religious institutions of his country; his unwearied industry; his inexhaustible learning; his zeal for the essentials of the Catholic faith; his abhorrence of unprofitable and vexatious grounds of difference; his piety, his toleration, and his humility, may ever find imitators and rivals in that Church which he loved and adorned; whose deep depression did not subdue, and whose triumph did not too far elate him,—is the hope and earnest prayer of one, who has been accustomed to find, in his writings, a source of the purest gratification here, and a guide to brighter hopes hereafter.

R. H.

THE

LIFE

OF

JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.

&c. &c.

The life of a student is passed within a narrow circle; and of the men whose writings are most widely read and admired, the personal history is often enveloped in the deepest obscurity. Nor, even of those individuals, whom the zeal of their friends or the malice of their enemies have enabled or compelled to act a more conspicuous part on the theatre of contemporary distinction, have the lives been often diversified with many singular events, with great deliverances, or surprising vicissitudes. Their days have been quietly busied in producing those effects which only have made their histories worth inquiring after, — effects for which it was necessary that their habits should be retired and uniform. Nor can we wonder, therefore, that whoever undertakes the biography of a scholar or a theologian, has ordinarily but little to relate which is certain, and less which is interesting or extraordinary.

In some respects, indeed, the fate of Jeremy Taylor was distinguished from the general lot of men of letters. So far from his life being retired or monotonous, he seems to have passed much of it in a crowd; and it is one of the circumstances which lead us most to wonder at the fertility and force of his genius, not only that, in so few years, he wrote so many books, but that these books were, many of them, composed under circumstances the least favourable to research or abstraction.

It was his fortune, at an early age, to attract the notice of those whose patronage, however favourable to his interests or his renown, had a natural tendency to withdraw him from the usual scenes of literary or parochial labour. He was favoured by Laud in the zenith of his power, and trusted by king Charles, when he had become the more venerable from adversity. During the Usurpation, though esteemed and pitied even by his enemies, he was destined to encounter a more than usual share of confiscation and imprisonment; and, at the restoration of the royal family, and while yet in the full vigour of his years and his abilities, he was raised to the highest honours which lie within the compass of his profession. But, during the calamities which agitated an empire, the escapes and sufferings of a private individual were too insignificant to attract much contemporary fame; and Taylor's sufferings were of the kind which, by impoverishing their victim, removes him still more from the notice and knowledge of the world. His subsequent promotion, though it fixed him in the country where he had found his best asylum, was, in itself, a banishment from the society of public men and the theatre of national politics; and his latter days were spent in the alternate and unobtrusive labours of the pulpit and the closet, in preparing himself and others for that heaven, whither his desires had been from his earliest years directed.

It will not, then, be expected, that, after the lapse of almost two centuries, I shall have been able to supply many interesting details of a life thus spent and thus concluded, or that many important gleanings remain which had escaped the almost contemporary inquiries of Wood, or the accurate industry and zealous researches of Mr. Bonney. Yet the time is not long passed since unusually abundant stores of information existed, and since those stores were in the possession of a person eminently qualified to employ them to the best advantage. The late William Todd Jones, of Homra, in the county of Down, esquire, Taylor's lineal descendant in the fifth degree, and who inherited no small portion of his talents and characteristic eloquence, was employed, at one period of his life, in collecting and arranging materials for the biography of his distinguished ancestor. Mr. Jones possessed, among many other interesting documents, a

series of autograph letters to and from the bishop; and a "family-book," also in his own handwriting, giving an account of his parentage and the principal events of his life, with comments on many of the public transactions in which he himself, or those connected with him, had borne a share.

But, in the ardour of Mr. Jones's political pursuits, and the frequent pecuniary embarrassments to which those pursuits exposed him, his biographical labours appear to have been often interrupted; and his sudden death, by the overturn of a carriage in the year 1818, cut short all the hopes which his talents and his materials justified. The greater part of his family papers he had, on the sale of Homra to the marquess of Downshire, deposited at Montalto, under the care of the late John, earl of Moira. Their subsequent fate has, unfortunately, not been ascertained. At Donnington, whither all the papers found at Montalto are said to have been transferred, no traces of them remain; and there appears but too much reason to apprehend that they were consumed, together with some other packages belonging to the marquess of Hastings, in the fire which destroyed the London Custom-house. All which the family yet retain consists of some extracts made by Mr. Jones from these documents with a view to his intended work; the marriage settlement of Taylor's youngest daughter; and some traditions respecting himself and his descendants, which have been liberally communicated to me by Mr. Jones's sisters, Mrs. Wray, and Mrs. Mary Jones.

Small as these remains are, the few facts which they disclose are, perhaps, among the most interesting hitherto recovered concerning bishop Taylor's private concerns. From other quarters, indeed, very little was to be gathered which was new, but I have not knowingly neglected any. The Rev. Mr. Bonney, with a kindness to which I am deeply indebted, and which I had the less reason to expect as I was personally unknown to him, has permitted me to make use of an interleaved copy of his able and interesting Life of Taylor, enriched with many valuable manuscript notes and references. To the active and judicious friendship of the Honourable and Reverend J. C. Talbot, I am indebted, not only for my introduction to bishop Taylor's descendants in

Ireland, but for whatever other gleanings of information or tradition respecting him remained in that kingdom. The archives of All Souls were examined by the kindness of the bishop of Oxford, and my friend, Clement Cartwright, Esq.; and the publishers of this edition have been enabled to procure for me, from the Evelyn Papers, the British Museum, and other sources, seventeen manuscript letters of Taylor, fourteen of which are now first printed. But it cannot be concealed, that, notwithstanding these advantages, I have still to lament the scantiness and imperfection of my materials; and that in this, as in most other instances, the biography of an author must consist in the account of his writings rather than his actions or adventures.

JEREMY, third son of Nathaniel and Mary Taylor[a], was born in Trinity parish, Cambridge, and baptized on the 15th of August, 1613. His father was a barber; an occupation which, united, as it generally was, with the practice of surgery and pharmacy, was, in the days of our ancestors, somewhat less humble than at present, but which was at no time likely to raise its professor or his children to wealth or eminence. The family, however, had originally held a respectable rank among the smaller gentry of Gloucestershire, where they had possessed, for many generations, an estate in the parish of Frampton on Severn; and Nathaniel was the lineal descendant of Dr. Rowland Taylor, rector of Hadleigh, in the county of Suffolk, and chaplain to archbishop Cranmer[b].

Of Rowland Taylor, neither the name nor the misfortunes are obscure. He was distinguished among the divines of the Reformation for his abilities, his learning, and piety; and he suffered death at the stake on Aldham Common, near Hadleigh, in the third year of queen Mary, amid the blessings and lamentations of his parishioners, and with a courageous and kindly cheerfulness which has scarcely its parallel, even in those days of religious heroism.

Dr. Taylor was of sufficient consequence, as an advocate of the new religion, to have excited against himself, without any additional or private motives, the fiercest hostility of the

[a] See Note (A.)

[b] Letter from Lady Wray to William Todd, Esq. of Castlemartin, dated May 24, 1732, quoted in the MS. of Mr. Todd Jones.

Romish prelates. We are told, however, that Gardiner, by whose warrant as lord chancellor he was first apprehended, was stimulated in this instance by feelings of avarice, as well as bigotry; that he was desirous of appropriating to himself the family estate at Frampton; that, I know not on what pretence, he succeeded in his object after Dr. Taylor's death, and that he had begun to build a mansion on the property, which, at his own decease, he left unfinished.

The family of the martyr were thus reduced to poverty, from which they had the less prospect of emerging by any help or favour of government, inasmuch as, in common with many of those who had most severely felt the iron hand of the Romish hierarchy, they were suspected, during the reigns of Elizabeth and James the First, of an inclination to the rising sect of the Puritans. Yet their poverty cannot have been excessive, since we find Nathaniel Taylor serving as churchwarden; an office which, in most parishes, is filled by the wealthiest and most respectable in the middle ranks of life. And it may be mentioned to their honour, that, after two generations of comparative distress, the father of Jeremy Taylor was spoken of by his son, in a letter to his old tutor, Bachcroft, as "reasonably learned," and as having himself "solely grounded his children in grammar and the mathematics[c]."

I have already taken notice of the unfortunate loss of the documents on which this account chiefly depends. For the fact of their having once existed, the authority of Mr. Jones is sufficient; and though the testimony of lady Wray is exposed to that degree of doubt which almost always attaches to family tradition, it is as satisfactory a voucher as could be looked for under similar circumstances, and more than sufficient to obtain belief for an account which, in itself, is far from improbable. That Jeremy Taylor had, indeed, some pretensions to gentle blood, may be, to a certain extent, inferred from the armorial bearings which, in an age when such distinctions were less boldly assumed than at present, and when the Heralds' College still retained some vestiges of their ancient authority, were engraved on his seal, still preserved by the Marsh family, and which

[c] Mr. Jones's MS.

(with some degree of harmless ostentation) are almost uniformly appended to his portraits[d]. In his works nothing occurs which can either confirm or disprove the traditions of his descendants; though he speaks of Rowland Taylor with deserved commendation in one of his polemical writings[e], and appeals to his authority in behalf of the Book of Common Prayer with something like a filial fondness. I am aware, indeed, that the question is, after all, of no great importance, and that the character of bishop Taylor could derive no additional lustre from a pedigree far more distinguished than that which I have assigned him. But the natural prejudices of mankind incline them to attach a certain degree of weight to the inheritance of talents and virtues; and I was not sorry to discover that the author of the Liberty of Prophesying was a descendant of one whose character and sufferings I had long been accustomed to contemplate with veneration.

There is nothing, indeed, more beautiful in the whole beautiful Book of Martyrs, than the account which Fox has given of Rowland Taylor, whether in the discharge of his duty as a parish priest, or in the more arduous moments when he was called on to bear his cross in the cause of religion. His warmth of heart, his simplicity of manners, the total absence of the false stimulants of enthusiasm or pride, and the abundant overflow of better and holier feelings, are delineated, no less than his courage in death, and the buoyant cheerfulness with which he encountered it, with a spirit only inferior to the eloquence and dignity of the Phædon. Something, indeed, must be allowed for the manners of the age, before we can be reconciled to the coarse vigour of his pleasantry, his jocose menace to Bonner, and his jests with the sheriff on his own stature and corpulency. But nothing can be more delightfully told than his refusal to fly from the lord chancellor's officers; his dignified, yet modest determination to await death in the discharge of his duty; and his affectionate and courageous parting with his wife and children. His recollection, when led to the stake, of "the blind man and woman," his pensioners, is

[d] Note (B.)

[e] Preface to the Apology for Authorized and Set Forms of Liturgy, vol. vii. p. 304, of this Edition.

of the same delightful character; nor has Plato any thing more touching than the lamentation of his parishioners over his dishonoured head and long white beard, and his own meek rebuke to the wretch who drew blood from that venerable countenance. Let not my readers blame me for this digression. They will have cause to thank me, if it induces them to refer to a history, which few men have ever read without its making them "sadder and better[f]."

At three years of age, Jeremy Taylor is said to have been sent to the grammar school then recently founded in Cambridge under the will of Dr. Stephen Perse, and kept by one Lovering[g]. The profit, however, which he derived from Lovering's instructions cannot have been great, if, as Taylor himself wrote to the head of Caius, he was "*solely* grounded in grammar and mathematics" by his father. And it is so unusual a thing in his class of life, or, indeed, in any class, to send an infant of three years old to a public grammar school, that I am tempted exceedingly to doubt a fact which rests on a single, and, as it appears in another instance, an inaccurate memorandum in the admission book of Caius. If, which is certainly not improbable, he attended Lovering's school at all, he can hardly have remained at it so long as he is there stated to have done[h].

When thirteen years old, on the 18th of August, 1626, he was entered at Caius College as a sizar, or poor scholar; an order of students who then were what the "servitors" still continue to be in some colleges in Oxford, and what the "lay brethren" are in the convents of the Romish church. This was an institution which, however it may be now at variance with the feelings and manners of the world, was, in its original, very far from deserving the reprobation which has been sometimes cast on it, and owed, indeed, its beginning to a zeal for the education of the poor, as well directed as it was humane and Christian. In the time of our ancestors, the interval between the domestics and the other members of a family was by no means so great, nor fenced with so harsh and impenetrable a barrier, as in the present days of luxury and excessive refinement. As the highest rank of subjects was elevated then at a greater height than they

[f] Note (C.) [g] Bonney, Life, p. 3. [h] Note (D.)

now are above the most considerable private gentry, so the latter constituted a far more efficient link in the great chain of society, and a far easier gradation existed between the nobles and that class of men from whom their own domestics were taken. There was, in those days, no supposed humiliation in offices which are now accounted menial, but which the peer then received as a matter of course from "the gentlemen of his household;" and which were paid to the knight or gentleman by domestics chosen in the families of his own most respectable tenants; while, in the humbler ranks of middle life, it was the uniform and recognized duty of the wife to wait on her husband, the child on his parents, the youngest of the family on his elder brothers or sisters[1]. But while the subordination of service was thus perfect and universal, this very universality softened its rigours. The well-born and well-educated retainers of a noble family were admitted by its head to that confidence and familiarity which their rank and attainments justified. The servants of the manor-house were usually the humble friends of the master and mistress, whose playmates they had been during childhood, and under whose protection they hoped to grow old. We have been, most of us, impressed with the tone of equality assumed by the valets of the old French comedy; and the jovial familiarity of Furnace, Amble, and Order, in Massinger's "New Way to pay Old Debts," is a well known, and, probably, an accurate portrait, of that species of graduated intercourse which once connected the aristocracy, and the throne itself, with the humblest orders of society, and in the abolition of which it may be reasonably doubted whether all parties are not rather losers than gainers.

But it is evident, that, as with such habits and feelings the mere fact of servitude did not in itself degrade, so there was nothing to prevent well-educated youths from attending their richer neighbours in a menial capacity to Oxford or Cambridge; while there was every possible motive of wisdom and humanity to induce the founders and governors of colleges to admit young men thus situated to a share in the instruction afforded by the place, and in the rewards which were held out to the genius or diligence of other

[1] Note (E.)

scholars. It is easy to declaim against the indecorum and illiberality of depressing the poorer students into servants; but it would be more candid, and more consistent with truth, to say that our ancestors elevated their servants to the rank of students; softening, as much as possible, every invidious distinction, and rendering the convenience of the wealthy a means of extending the benefits of education to those whose poverty must otherwise have shut them out from the springs of knowledge. And the very distinction of dress, which has been so often complained of, — the very nature of those duties which have been esteemed degrading, — were of use in preventing the intrusion of the higher classes into situations intended only for the benefit of the poor; while, by separating these last from the familiar society of the wealthier students, they prevented that dangerous emulation of expense, which has, in more modern times, almost excluded them from the university. The institution is now fading fast away; and, even where it exists, is altered from its original character. But the difficulties are proportionably increased which oppose the rise of such men as Taylor from the lowest to the highest ranks of society; and the want of such a frugal and humble order of students is already felt by the church of England, as it eventually may be felt by the nation at large.

At the time of Taylor's entrance at college, he had already, as I have observed, been introduced by his father to an elementary knowledge of the mathematics. Then, as now, if Glanville be believed, (who, with all his voracious credulity, both Platonic, chymical, and spectral, was no inconsiderable person among the scholars and philosophers of the seventeenth century,) a knowledge of the exact sciences was that by which Cambridge was chiefly distinguished, and the surest avenue through which her honours and emoluments were accessible[k].

But no evidence remains that Taylor pursued the mathematics to any considerable length, or that he made any progress in that new method of philosophizing, to which the world has since been so greatly indebted. Mr. Bonney, indeed, apprehends that many of his peculiar merits as a

[k] Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. iii. col. 1244. Ed. Bliss.

writer may be traced to an acquaintance with Bacon's illustrious treatise on "the Advancement of Knowledge." That he had read Bacon I can well believe; for with what work of contemporary genius was Jeremy Taylor likely to be unacquainted? But, though there are abundant proofs in his writings of that familiarity with the Aristotelic logic which Lloyd ascribes to him[1], I have not been able to discover a single allusion to those principles which Bacon first laid down, and on which alone the discovery of any new truth is possible. The powers of Taylor's mind were not devoted to the investigation of fresh fields of science, or to enlarge the compass of the human intellect, by ascertaining its legitimate boundaries. He was busied through life in defending truths already received, or in clearing away errors by which those ancient truths had been disfigured. His philosophy was almost entirely casuistical. They were not falsehoods, but fallacious reasonings, against which he had to contend; and for this species of dialectic warfare his weapons were to be sought after, not in the new, but in the ancient organon, and among the elder divines and schoolmen. It is no disparagement to Bacon, nor is it inconsistent with the admiration which Taylor may well have felt for him, that he did not apply Bacon's discoveries to an use for which Bacon himself did not intend them.

Whether he received any emolument or honorary distinction from Cambridge, is doubtful. Rust, his friend, and, though not his contemporary, educated at the same university, asserts, that after taking his degree of bachelor of arts in the year 1630-1, he was chosen fellow of Caius College. But we learn from Mr. Bonney, that no evidence of this fact exists (where, if true, it surely must have been recorded,) in the archives of the college and the university. And a further reason will be shortly given for supposing that Rust was mistaken in this particular, or that he was less anxious to discover the truth than to relate whatever reports were likely to raise the character of his hero. The period, however, was now approaching which introduced the talents and learning of Taylor to a patron well qualified to appreciate and reward them.

[1] Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 702.

Shortly after his becoming master of arts, in 1633, having already been admitted into holy orders[m], he was employed by one Risden, who had been, according to the academical habits of the time, his chamber-fellow, and who was now lecturer in St. Paul's cathedral, to supply his place for a short time in that pulpit, where his graceful person and elocution, together with the varied richness of his style and argument, and, perhaps, the singularity of a theological lecturer of twenty years of age, very soon obtained him friends and admirers. He was spoken of in high terms to Laud, who had then recently left the see of London for that of Canterbury, and who, with all his faults of temper and judgment, (exaggerated as those faults have been beyond all bounds by the bitterness of the party whom he first persecuted, and who afterwards hunted him to death,) must ever deserve the thanks of posterity as a liberal and judicious patron of that learning and piety, which he himself possessed in no ordinary degree. He sent for Taylor to preach before him at Lambeth, commended his performance highly, and only expressed an objection to the continuance of so young a preacher in London. Taylor, with youthful vivacity, "humbly begged his grace to pardon that fault," and promised, that, "if he lived, he would amend it[n]." Laud, however, as Rust informs us, "thought it for the advantage of the world that such mighty parts should be afforded better opportunities of study and improvement than a course of constant preaching would allow of; and, to that purpose, he placed him in his own college of All Souls in Oxford."

Here again the eulogium of bishop Rust may be charged with abundant inaccuracy and inconsistency. All Souls was not Laud's own college, inasmuch as he had passed his whole academical life at St. John's, the presidency of which society he relinquished when raised to the bishopric of St. David's. Nor had he any further control over, or any closer connexion with All Souls, than that which subsists between every college and its visitor. The reason, too, which is given for Taylor's removal from Cambridge to

[m] Comber, Discourse on the Offices of Ordination, quoted by Bonney, Life, p. 6, Note.

[n] Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 702.

another seat of learning, is plainly at variance with Rust's own previous assertion that he was already a fellow of Caius. Had this been the case, Rust, himself a Cambridge man, would hardly have denied that a residence in his own university would have afforded him sufficient "opportunities of study and improvement:" nor could Laud have reasonably expected or counselled Taylor to abandon a maintenance which he already possessed, in order to qualify himself for another situation of the same sort, and little, if at all, more lucrative. But if Taylor were then, as is most probable, a mere scholar of fortune, and unable, through poverty, to prolong his residence in his own university, it was only natural that his patron should be anxious to remove him to Oxford, where his rank as chancellor and visitor of several colleges gave him abundant opportunities of providing for the object of his favour.

When it was that Laud adopted this plan of befriending Taylor, or what became of the latter in the meantime, it is now too late to discover. If the interview which has been related took place soon after his arrival in London, it may seem that, however anxious Laud might be to remove him from thence, a considerable time elapsed before he took any successful steps in his favour at Oxford. During this time, perhaps, it was that he pursued his studies, according to a tradition current in that neighbourhood, at Maidley Hall, near Tamworth*. But, be this as it may, it was not till the 20th of October, 1635, that Taylor was admitted to the same rank of master of arts in University College as he had previously held at Cambridge; and three days after that the archbishop wrote a strong letter in his favour to the warden and fellows of All Souls. He there states, that a Mr. Osborn, one of their number, being about to "give over his fellowship," had offered him the nomination of a scholar to succeed him; that he "being willing to recommend such an one as they should thank him for," was "resolved to pitch on Mr. Jeremiah Taylor;" and that he "heartily prayed them to give him all furtherance at the next election, not doubting that he would approve himself a worthy and learned member of their society."

* Gentleman's Magazine, A. D. 1783, p. 144.

What authority Mr. Osborn can have had to dispose in this manner of the nomination to a fellowship which he was himself about to resign, or how he could undertake to influence an election in which he was to have no voice, is not very easy to conjecture, unless we suppose him to have spoken the sentiments of some others among his brethren who may have desired to pay their visitor the unusual compliment of asking his opinion in the choice of a new member of the society. The recommendation, however, forcible as it must have been, was not received with implicit deference, inasmuch as a reasonable doubt existed whether Taylor was strictly eligible. Wood, indeed, is wrong in saying that he was above the age at which he might be chosen; but the statutes are express in requiring candidates to be of three years standing in the university, whereas ten days had, at the time of the election, barely elapsed since Taylor had been incorporated into Oxford. It is true that Laud seems to have supposed that his admission "ad eundem," as it entitled him to all the privileges of a master of arts, entitled him to whatever advantages were conferred by that standing in the university, which he must have had in order to take his degree there regularly. And a very great majority of the fellows, either convinced by this argument, or desirous of straining a point in favour of a candidate so deserving, and so powerfully recommended, appear to have espoused his cause, and to have voted in the first instance for his admission. Sheldon, however, the warden, (afterwards himself archbishop of Canterbury, and a munificent benefactor to the university,) less pliant, or more scrupulous, refused to concur in the election. Under these circumstances, the fellows persisting in their choice, no election at all took place, but the nomination devolved in due course to the archbishop, as visitor of the college, who thus acquired the right of appointing Taylor by his sole authority to the vacant situation, on the 14th of January, 1636.

This appears to be the true statement of a transaction which Wood has considerably misrepresented, as if Laud had, by an irregular and unwarrantable exercise of authority, intruded Taylor into a college, which was neither disposed, nor statuteably able, to receive him. It is plain, however, from documents of which Wood had no knowledge, that

(whatever may be thought of the propriety of Osborn's conduct, or the validity of Sheldon's objection,) the archbishop had at least a plausible excuse for his recommendation of a candidate; and a ground, whether tenable or not, which might justify his recommendation of Taylor. It is plain that a candidate whom the fellows almost unanimously approved of was not personally disagreeable to them; while (the fellows and warden being at variance on the interpretation of a statute) the decision must naturally and legally have rested with the visitor only. The conduct of Sheldon throughout the affair appears to have been at once spirited and conscientious; but it may have been marked by some degree of personal harshness towards Taylor, since we find that, for some years after, a coolness subsisted between them, till the generous conduct of the warden produced, as will be seen, a sincere and lasting reconciliation[p].

Taylor was now in possession of those advantages which his patron had esteemed so necessary for his improvement; a dignified retirement, a decent maintenance, and a free access to books and learned conversation. And we are told by his biographer how much he profited by these opportunities, and how much he was admired by the university for his "excellent casuistical preaching[q]." Unfortunately, however, it appears by the college books, that, during the four years of his remaining a fellow, he was by no means a regular resident; while, of his existing sermons, there are few which can be reckoned casuistical, and only one, the composition of which we have any reason to refer to the time of his Oxford studies. I have not been able to learn at what date he was made one of the archbishop's chaplains, an office which would naturally draw him a good deal away from the scene which he was so well adapted to ornament; but he was, on the 23d of March, 1637-8, presented by Juxon, bishop of London, (probably through the interest of his steady friend, the archbishop,) to the rectory of Uppingham, in Rutlandshire, which, though tenable with his fellowship, was a still better reason than his chaplaincy for making his residence in All Souls occasional only[r].

[p] Note (E.)

[q] Wood, ubi supra. Lloyd, ubi supra.

[r] Bonney, pp. 14, 17.

During this time he is said by Wood to have first become the object of a suspicion, which, however undeserved, continued through life to haunt him, of a concealed attachment to the Romish communion. Such a report was almost sure to be raised at the expense of any man whom Laud esteemed and promoted. And if Taylor had already adopted his ascetic notions of piety, his profound veneration for antiquity, and his attachment to the picturesque and poetical features of religion, he would be only the more likely to incur a charge which, in a more advanced period of his life, and while contending against the errors of popery, he solemnly declared to have been always unfounded and slanderous[a]. And if, as Wood assures us, and as is, certainly, not improbable, he lived at this time on terms of intimate intercourse with a learned Franciscan friar, known by the name of Francis a Sancta Clara, such a friendship, however innocent and creditable to both parties, was, in those days of bitterness and jealousy, sufficient to give confirmation to any rumours of the kind which might be propagated or believed, not only by the puritans, but by the same party among the papists who tempted Laud with a cardinal's hat, and who seem to have flattered themselves that all the more learned and moderate protestants of the age were secretly "tending towards Latium."

This Franciscan, whose real name was Christopher Davenport, but who was also known by the name of Hunt, was, in his time, an extraordinary person. He was born of protestant parents, and, with his brother John, entered at an early age, in the year 1613, as *battler*, or *poor scholar*, of Merton College. The brothers, as they grew up, fell into almost opposite religious opinions. John became first a violent puritan, and, at length, an independent. Christopher, two years after his entrance at Merton, being then only seventeen years old, fled to Douay with a Romish priest, and took the vows of Francis of Assisi. He rambled for some years through the universities of the Low Countries and Spain; became reader of divinity at Douay, and obtained the degree of doctor. At length he appeared as a missionary in England, where he was appointed one of

[a] First Letter to one tempted to the Romish Church, vol. xi. p. 211.

queen Henrietta's chaplains, and, during more than fifty years, secretly laboured in the cause of his religion. An intimacy with him was one of the charges brought against Laud on his trial; when it appeared that, in fact, he had been introduced to the archbishop by his chaplain, Dr. Augustine Lindsell, as a person engaged in a work on the Operation of God's Grace, and a Defence of Episcopacy[t]. Laud seems to have paid him but little attention; but Wood informs us that he was much esteemed "by many great and worthy persons;" and he appears to have been a man of sufficient learning and moderation to have given alarm to many of the bigots of his own persuasion, and of sufficient zeal and talent to have served the interests of that persuasion in the most effectual manner. His works, of which a long list is given by Wood, are marked, on the whole, with a conciliatory spirit; and he met with so much of the usual fortune of conciliators as to have his book, entitled "Deus, Natura, Gratia," put into the Index Expurgationis in Spain, and all but committed publicly to the flames in Italy. His merits, however, towards his own church, were at length acknowledged, by his being made principal chaplain to the queen of Charles the Second, and chosen, for many years in succession, provincial of his own order in England. His conversation is described by Wood as free and lively; and he found many friends, and a frequent asylum, at Oxford, where it was his desire to be buried in the church of St. Ebba, formerly belonging to the Franciscans. He was, however, interred in London, where he died, at a great age, in 1680[u].

The friendship of such a man as this could not disgrace Taylor; but when Davenport, as Wood assures us, ascribed to Taylor a regularly formed resolution of being reconciled to the church of Rome, which only failed through the indignation of their party at certain expressions in a sermon preached by him on the fifth of November, 1638, it is most reasonable, as well as most charitable, to impute the assertion to a failure of memory, not unnatural to one so far advanced in years as he must have been when Wood conversed with him.

[t] Note (G.)

[u] Wood, Athen. Oxon., vol. iii. col. 1223. Church History of England, vol. iii. p. 103. Brussels, 1744.

Thus he tells us, that Taylor being appointed to preach before the university on the anniversary of the Gunpowder Treason, the then vice-chancellor insisted on his inserting many things so offensive to the Roman Catholics, that his friendship was afterwards rejected by them with scorn, notwithstanding his expressions of regret and penitence for the sentiments which he had been constrained to utter[x].

If, however, as Mr. Bonney well observes, "the vice-chancellor had done what was reported, he must have completely remodelled the whole discourse;" which, instead of bearing any marks of such interpolation, is nothing else, from beginning to end, but a connected and consistent chain of argument against the principles of the Roman Catholics, as what must, in their nature, conduct to such effects as the conspiracy of Digby and his associates. Of invective (which a violent person, or one who desired the preacher to sacrifice to the angry feelings of the time, was most likely to introduce into the discourse of another,) there is, absolutely, no appearance. And as Taylor was not a likely man to compromise his high reputation, or his rank in the university and in the church, by adopting, against his own opinion, the sentiments or language of another; so, what he had once said and published, he was still less likely to retract in the manner which Wood, on the authority of Davenport, imputes to him. I may add, that there is little in the sermon itself which could have shocked or surprised the Roman Catholics, as proceeding from a professed member of the Protestant church, and master of arts in an English university. Nor is it likely that they, who were not deterred by Laud's controversy with Fisher from expecting the conversion of that prelate, or from persecuting him through life with their fatal friendship, would, on so much slighter an offence, have given up whatever hold of intimacy or influence they had acquired over such a mind as that of Jeremy Taylor.

It has been said that he was appointed to preach the sermon in question by his patron, the archbishop. If this were true, it would be still more improbable that, thus appointed, he would submit his composition to the censure of the vice-chancellor. But of this designation there is, in

[x] Wood, ubi supra.

truth, no appearance. The appointment of preachers on such occasions is usually exercised by the vice-chancellor, not the chancellor himself; and the author, in his dedication to Laud, plainly gives us to understand, that "the superior," in obedience to whose commands he embarked in the work, was not the same with him to whom he inscribed it when published. "It pleased some," he says, "who had the power to command me, to wish me to the publication of these my short and sudden meditations, that, if it were possible, even this way I might express my duty to God and the king. Being thus far encouraged, I resolved to go somewhat further, even to the boldness of a dedication to your grace; that, since I had no merit of my own to move me to the confidence of a public view, yet I might dare to venture under the protection of your grace's favour." And he goes on to allege several different reasons for the propriety of inscribing such a work to the archbishop, without once mentioning (what, if it were true, would have been the best reason of all,) that it was by Laud's own command that he had undertaken the discussion of the subject.

Of this earliest production of Taylor's genius, the defects and merits may be the subject of future investigation. I will here merely observe, that the former are those of the time at which he lived, and are, themselves, chiefly defects as being out of their place, and as less proper for a solemn discourse than a popular harangue or a polemical pamphlet. The latter are almost exclusively his own; and if we have less of that splendid strain of eloquence which, in his later works, has left him without a rival, it will not be denied that in his earliest sermons are many blossoms of genuine power and beauty, which continued meditation and longer practice might be reasonably expected to ripen into fruits worthy of Paradise.

Ascetic as Taylor was in many of his opinions, celibacy appears to have formed no part of his plan of life; nor does he seem to have attached so much value to the learned leisure of an university, as to have been inclined to linger there after a new and important scene of action and duty was elsewhere opened to him. I have already observed, that, from the date of his institution to Uppingham, he was but little resident in All Souls; and he now, at an earlier

age than is usual with literary men, took a step which was to separate him from his fellowship entirely.

On the 27th of May, 1639, being then in the twenty-sixth year of his age, he married, at Uppingham, Phœbe Landisdale, or Langsdale, of whose family little else is known than that her brother was a physician, established first at Gainsborough, and afterwards at Leeds, where he was buried January the 7th, 1683[y]. Of Phœbe's mother, though not of her father, mention is made in one of Taylor's letters; and from this circumstance, as well as the daughter's being married at Uppingham, it is probable that she was a widow residing in that parish.

By Phœbe Langsdale, Taylor had three sons, one of whom, William, (so named, in all probability, after his great patron, Laud,) was buried at Uppingham on the 28th of May, 1642; nor did the mother long survive her infant[z]. The other boys grew up to manhood, and their melancholy deaths were among the last and most grievous trials of Taylor's eventful pilgrimage.

This year, 1642, was marked, however, by many public as well as private sorrows; and, in the great struggle which was now begun, he ably and courageously contended on the side both of episcopacy and monarchy. He appears to have been among the first to join the king at Oxford, where, shortly after, he published, "by his majesty's command," his treatise of "Episcopacy asserted against the Acephali and Aërians, new and old;" "encouraged," as Heylin tells us, "by many petitions" to the same effect "to his majesty and both houses of parliament[a]." But, though it was natural that the outrageous proceedings of the presbyterian party should have produced a considerable revulsion in the national feeling, and though the work itself is well adapted to profit by and strengthen such a disposition, it is probable that men's minds were, by this time, too generally made up to leave them inclination or leisure for the study of controversy; and the fact that the treatise remained without an attempt at reply from the other party, is a probable argument that it was less read than it well deserved to be.

To such rewards, however, as the king and church had

[y] Bonney's MS. Note. [z] Jones's MS. Bonney, p. 18.
[a] Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 465.

to bestow, Taylor had no common pretensions; and we find him admitted, on the first of November in this same year, with many other eminent loyalists, by the royal mandate, to the degree of doctor of divinity. The distinction, however, was considerably lessened by the indiscriminate manner in which similar honours were then bestowed; inasmuch as the unfortunate monarch, having few other ways in his power of rewarding the services of his adherents, created, about the same time, his doctors and masters of arts with so much profusion, as to call forth a remonstrance from the heads of houses against a practice which threatened to destroy the discipline, the dignity, and even the revenues of the university [b].

The Presbyterians had more power to hurt than Charles to reward: and it was, probably, about this time that the rectory of Uppingham was sequestered; a fact which is certain from the joint authority of Walker and Lloyd, no less than from all which is known of Taylor's subsequent poverty. The date of his deprivation, however, or the name of his intrusive successor, I am not able to supply. Neither Walker, Calamy, nor Clarke, throw any light on the subject; and though the bishop of Peterborough has, with much kindness, examined for me the register's office of that diocese, no information appears there, or in the parish books of Uppingham, which can add any thing to the facts already collected by Mr. Bonney. Of course neither Taylor, nor any of the deprived clergy, relinquished their claim to the livings of which they were despoiled; but as their places were, in every instance, filled up without loss of time by the ruling party, it is something remarkable that no record remains of the institution of the intruder, his incumbency, or his expulsion on the return of monarchy and episcopacy. The name of Daniel Swift only once occurs (on the 20th of April, 1652,) as choosing a churchwarden, and signing himself "Pastor de Uppingham;" and there is not the smallest appearance, during the following years of Taylor's life, that he received any part of that pittance which the clergy, presented to livings by the parliamentary commissioners, were enjoined to pay to their expelled predecessors [c].

[b] Note (H.)

[c] Bonney, p. 31, Note.

He had obtained, however, a wealthy and powerful patron in Christopher Hatton, Esq., afterwards lord Hatton of Kirby, who had been his neighbour at Uppingham, and to whom his Defence of Episcopacy, as well as many other of his earlier works, are dedicated; "a person," Clarendon tells us, "who, when he was appointed controller of the king's household, possessed a great reputation, which, in a few years, he found a way to diminish[d]."

It is always difficult to determine the real character of a public man, between the widely varying statements of his friends on one side, and his enemies or rivals on the other. The same lord Hervey who was the Sporus of Pope's tremendous satire, is extolled by Middleton, in all the exuberance of elegant flattery, as the last of the Romans, the bravest, the best, and most eloquent of mankind. Nor is it easy to find a more splendid character in history than is ascribed by the hope or gratitude of Taylor to the nobleman of whom the historian speaks thus slightingly. It was not, indeed, till the present age that men of letters appear to have completely broken through that debasing custom which made excessive eulogium and affected humility essentials in the addresses of authors to the great and wealthy. Yet Hatton cannot have been destitute of learning or of talents, since in him Taylor found opinions congenial to his own on the subject of toleration, and since it was at his suggestion, and with his assistance, that Dugdale undertook his Monasticon[e].

Of Taylor's history, during the remainder of the civil war, we are very imperfectly informed. Wood speaks of him as a frequent preacher before the court at Oxford, and as following the royal army in the capacity of chaplain, till, on the decline of the king's cause, he sought an asylum in Carmarthenshire. The following letter, however, represents him, at the close of the year 1643, living, for a time at least, with his mother-in-law and children, and oppressed, as should seem from some of his expressions, by those pecuniary difficulties which, during by far the greater part of his life, continued to pursue and harass him. The silence observed respecting his wife confirms lady Wray's statement,

[d] Clarendon, Hist. Rebell. vol. ii. 156. Oxon. [e] Note (I.)

that he had buried her before he quitted Uppingham. For the rest, it serves to show how constantly his attention was directed to the spiritual welfare and improvement of those with whom he was connected. The original letter is in the British Museum.—

"DEARE BROTHER,—Thy letter was most welcome to me, bringing the happy news of thy recovery. I had notice of thy danger, but watched for this happy relation, and had layd wayte with Royston to enquire of Mr. Rumbould. I hope I shall not neede to bid thee be carefull for the perfecting thy health, and to be fearful of a relapse. Though I am very much, yet thou thyself art more concerned in it. But this I will remind thee of, that thou be infinitely [careful] to perform to God those holy promises which I suppose thou didst make in thy sicknesse; and remember what thoughts thou hadst then, and beare them along upon thy spirit all thy life-time. For that which was true then is so still, and the world is really as vain a thing as thou didst then suppose it. I durst not tell thy mother of thy danger (though I heard of it), till, at the same time, I told her of thy recovery. Poore woman! she was troubled and pleased at the same time, but your letter did determine her. I take it kindly that thou hast writt to Bowman. If I had been in condition you should not have beene troubled with it; but, as it is, both thou and I must be content. Thy mother sends her blessing to thee and her little Mally. So doe I, and my prayers to God for you both. Your little cozens are your servants; and I am

"Thy most affectionate and endeared Brother,

"November 24, 1648." "JER. TAYLOR."

"To my very dear Brother, Dr. LANGSDALE, at his Apothecary's House in Gainsborough."

This letter is without any mention of the place whence it was written; but the notice which occurs of Royston, who was a bookseller and printer in Ivy Lane, and who published most of Taylor's later works, would naturally lead us to suspect that its writer was then in London. This is, however, altogether at variance with Wood's statement, unless

we suppose that, for some reason which cannot now be discovered, he discontinued his attendance on the royal person at a far earlier period than "the decline of the royal cause." Next year, however, we find him in Wales, and again attached to a portion of the army, since Whitelock mentions a Dr. Taylor (and Jeremy Taylor is the only person of that name and degree whom I have been able to discover among the royalists) as a conspicuous prisoner, (the only one, indeed, whose name he notices,) in the victory gained by the parliamentary troops over colonel Charles Gerard, before the castle of Cardigan, on the 4th of February, 1644[f]. And I am inclined to suspect, that the cause which drew him away from the royal army was love; that he had formed an attachment to the lady who afterwards became his second wife, during the first visit of king Charles to Wales; and that he married her, and retired to her property, soon after the date of his letter to Dr. Langsdale, though the evils of war, extending themselves into the most remote and peaceful districts, again, in a very short space of time, involved him in their vortex. Something of this kind is plainly intimated in the dedication to his Liberty of Prophesying; and the passage itself is worth transcribing, not only for the spirit of poetry which it breathes, but as giving us almost all the information which remains as to the troubles of Jeremy Taylor.

In it, he tells his patron, lord Hatton, that, "in the great storm which dashed the vessel of the church all in pieces, he had been cast on the coast of Wales; and, in a little boat, thought to have enjoyed that rest and quietness which, in England, in a far greater, he could not hope for. Here," he continues, "I cast anchor; and, thinking to ride safely, the storm followed me with so impetuous violence, that it broke a cable, and I lost my anchor. And here again I was exposed to the mercy of the sea, and the gentleness of an element that could neither distinguish things nor persons. And but that He who stilleth the raging of the sea, and the noise of his waves, and the madness of his people, had provided a plank for me, I had been lost to all the opportunities of

[f] Whitelock, Memor. p. 130. For my knowledge of this curious passage, I am indebted to a MS. Note of Mr. Bonney.

content or study. But I know not whether I have been more preserved by the courtesies of my friends, or the gentleness and mercies of a noble enemy. Οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι παρεῖχον οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν φιλανθρωπίαν ἡμῖν· ἀνάψαντες γὰρ πυρὰν, προσελάβοντο ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΗΜΑΣ, διὰ τὸν ὑετὸν τὸν ἐφεστῶτα, καὶ διὰ τὸ ψυχος."

That a voluntary retreat from the more busy scenes of war and politics; that a subsequent exposure to the same interruptions, with more than their usual share of attendant misfortune; that the help of friends, and the forbearance of enemies, are here spoken of, is sufficiently evident. But the Greek quotation from the Acts of the Apostles (for which, by the way, those generous enemies whom he praises, had they understood it, would have scarcely thanked him,) implies, at least, that he had many fellow-sufferers in that particular danger to which he alludes. Nor can I find any defeat of the loyalists in the neighbourhood of his Welch retirement which so well tallies with these different circumstances as that which Whitelock has recorded. The Liberty of Prophesying was, indeed, not published till 1647; but, for the probable duration of his imprisonment, the time necessary to collect his books, and, in the midst of those avocations on which his livelihood depended, to prepare for the press such an essay as that to which he chiefly owes his fame, would account for a far longer interval between his becoming a prisoner and the date of that work, than the hypothesis on which I have ventured supposes.

Nor can I consider it as inconsistent with this opinion, that, during this same year, 1644, there appeared at Oxford his edition of the Psalter, with Collects affixed to each Psalm; and that a Defence of the Liturgy, which he afterwards improved into a larger work[s], was also published, and honoured by the approbation of king Charles. On the contrary, the supposition of his being, at this time, in the enemy's hands, will account for that which is otherwise not easy to explain, why, contrary to his usual practice, the latter of these came out anonymously, and the former under the name of Hatton. If this last measure were intended to

[s] See Dedication to an Apology for Authorized and Set Forms of Liturgy, vol. vii. p. cclxxix.

gratify his patron's vanity, it would be a trick discreditable to both sides; though to Taylor, in his deep poverty and burthened with a family, much might be forgiven. But, while yet a prisoner, there might be some reason for his abstaining from publishing any thing in his own name, though even this would hardly justify Hatton in appropriating to himself the work of another[b].

How long Taylor remained a prisoner, and on what terms, and by whose interest he was released, there are now small hopes of discovering. I would gladly have recorded, with some degree of certainty, the names of those generous enemies from whom he received so much unexpected kindness. All which is known on this subject is, that colonel Laugharn, governor of Pembroke Castle, was the chief parliamentary officer about this time in South Wales; and that colonel Broughton, colonel Stephens, Mr. Catching of Trellock, and Mr. Jones of Uske, are named by Rushworth as the committee for that district. It is to these gentlemen, therefore, or to some among them, that the Christian world is indebted for their humanity to one of its brightest ornaments. Such instances of individual gentleness and forbearance occur like bright and insulated spots in the gloomy annals of most civil wars; but an Englishman may recollect with gratitude, and some degree of honest pride in his own nation and ancestors, that more such are, perhaps, to be found in the records of our own troubles than in those of any other contest of equal length, and embittered by so many different circumstances of religious and popular hatred.

When Taylor was once in Wales, it was not likely he would rejoin the royal army, even supposing him released from his confinement or his parole before the success of that army became desperate by the secession of the king, and his surrender of himself to the Scottish forces. I am not, however, of opinion, that he had now taken a last leave of his unfortunate master. In August, 1647, the chaplains of the imprisoned monarch were again allowed, for a time, free access to him; and it appears, that, at a late period of Charles's misfortunes, Taylor had an interview with him, and received from him, in token of his regard, his watch,

[b] Note (J.)

and a few pearls and rubies which had ornamented the ebony case in which he kept his Bible[i].

Being now deprived of all church preferment, he supported himself by keeping a school, which he carried on in partnership with William Nicholson, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, and William Wyat, who subsequently obtained the rank of prebendary of Lincoln. Their success, considering their remote situation and the distresses of the times, appears to have been not inconsiderable. Newton Hall, a house in the parish of Lanfihangel, which they jointly rented, is dignified by Wyat, in his Latin epistle to lord Hatton, which will be shortly noticed, with the title of "Collegium Newtoniense;" and Wood tells us of "several youths most loyally educated there, and afterwards sent to the universities."

Of their scholars, however, none are now remembered but Judge Powell, who bore a distinguished part on the trial of the seven bishops; Richard Peers, an Irishman of mean extraction, but who is mentioned by Wood among the list of Oxford writers; and a certain Griffin Lloyd, Esq. of Cwmgwilly, who has thought it worth while, as Judge Powell has also done, to record on his tomb that he was educated under Taylor and Nicholson[k]. Nor have I been able to ascertain how long their partnership continued, though it certainly was dissolved long before the restoration of the royal family, and even before Taylor's departure from Wales.

Of this establishment, accordingly, the most remarkable fruit with which we are acquainted, is "A New and Easy Institution of Grammar," which appeared in 1647; to which are prefixed two epistles dedicatory, the one by Wyat, in Latin, which has been already noticed as addressed to lord Hatton; the other in English, by Taylor himself, to Christopher Hatton, his patron's eldest son, then a youth of fifteen, afterwards raised by Charles the Second to the dignity of a viscount, and made governor of Guernsey. This address is in the usual style of his writings, devout, affectionate, and eloquent. The work which it introduces (though pompously panegyrized in a copy of Latin verses

[i] Mr. Jones's MS. Mr. Bonney's do. [k] Note (K.)

by a certain F. Gregory, who appears to have been an under-master at Westminster,) was, probably, the work of Wyat rather than of Taylor, and, though well adapted to its purpose, is not of a nature to add materially to the reputation of either.

It was followed, shortly after, by the most curious, and, perhaps, the ablest of all his compositions,—his admirable "Liberty of Prophesying;" composed, as he tells his patron, lord Hatton, in the epistle dedicatory, under a host of grievous disadvantages; in adversity and want; without books or leisure; and with no other resources than those which were supplied by a long familiarity with the sacred volume, and a powerful mind, imbued with all the learning of past ages.

Of the work thus produced, an account will be given hereafter. Of its importance and value at the time of its first appearance, some opinion may be formed by recollecting that it is the first attempt on record to conciliate the minds of Christians to the reception of a doctrine which, though now the rule of action professed by all Christian sects, was then, by every sect alike, regarded as a perilous and portentous novelty.

There is abundant proof, indeed, in the history of the times in which Taylor lived, and of those which immediately preceded him, that (much as every religious party, in its turn, had suffered from persecution, and loudly and bitterly as each had, in its own particular instance, complained of the severities exercised against its members,) no party had yet been found to perceive the great wickedness of persecution in the abstract, or the moral unfitness of temporal punishment as an engine of religious controversy. Even the sects who were themselves under oppression exclaimed against their rulers, not as being persecutors at all, but as persecuting those who professed *the truth;* and each sect, as it obtained the power to wield the secular weapon, esteemed it also a duty, as well as a privilege, not to bear the sword in vain.

Under such circumstances, it was absolutely necessary for Taylor to guard against misrepresentation or misconception; to admit, as he has done in his epistle to lord Hatton, repeatedly and expressly, the expedience of sup-

pressing, even by force, such religious opinions (if any such there were) as taught sedition or immorality, and to prove that the exclusion of the secular weapon from our Christian warfare was not inconsistent with the employment of all peaceable and charitable means of refuting error, and of bringing back, by fair argument and good example, to the sheepfold of our Divine Master, our deceived or deceiving brethren.

But, notwithstanding this eloquent apology, the Liberty of Prophesying inculcated a doctrine too entirely at variance with the practice and prejudices of Taylor's age, to escape the animadversions of his contemporaries. A copy of the first edition, which now lies before me, has its margin almost covered with manuscript notes expressive of doubt or disapprobation; and the commentator, whoever he was, has subjoined at the end of the volume "Taceo metu," and "Vobis dico non ~~omnibus~~." His arguments, more particularly, in behalf of the Anabaptists, were regarded as too strenuous and unqualified; and the opinions of the author himself having consequently fallen into suspicion, he, in a subsequent edition, added a powerful and satisfactory explanation of his previous language, and an answer to the considerations which he had himself advanced in apology for the opinions of those sectaries.

That Taylor was most sincere in his belief of the propriety and efficacy of infant baptism, he has shown in the sixth and seventh discourses of his "Great Exemplar," which he, in the first instance, published separately, in the year 1655, as a corrective to the mischief which he was supposed to have done by his previous admissions; accompanied by a preface, in which he refers the reader, for fuller satisfaction, to the labours of his friend, Dr. Hammond, on the same subject.

Hammond, indeed, had himself, though with much courtesy and kindness of expression, undertaken to answer the precise arguments employed by Taylor, in his "Letter of Resolution to six Queres of present use with the Church of England." He there, under the head of the Baptizing of Infants, describes the collection of Presumptions against Pseudo-baptism contained in the Liberty of Prophesying, as "the most diligent he had met with," and as "so impar-

tially enforcing the arguments of his adversaries, that he knew not where to furnish himself with so exact a scheme, and that therefore, on that one account, he should choose to follow the path which his friend had traced before him[l]."

Hammond and Taylor well knew each other's worth. They were, for a few years at least, fellow-students. They together, in the worst of times, obtained, by unshaken loyalty and piety unimpeached, the respect of their political and religious opponents; and they were so perfectly trusted by the loyalists, that they were made the joint channels for dispensing those contributions which were privately raised, to a large amount, for the persecuted clergy of the church of England[m].

How well Hammond, in his controversy with Tombes, as well as in the work already noticed, performed his part as advocate for Pædo-baptism, it is unnecessary here to notice. Of Taylor's exertions in the same good cause, I can give no better proof than the weight which is ascribed to his testimony by a writer who has discussed those unfortunate controversies which have recently arisen on baptismal regeneration, with a wisdom, a discrimination, and a conciliatory temper, which can hardly be surpassed, and which have been too little imitated[n].

Of those who, in Taylor's own day, attacked the leading principle on which the Liberty of Prophesying was founded, the most considerable, and the only one whose name has descended to the present times, though rather as the mark of one of Milton's satirical arrows, than for any of those particulars which excited the respect and deference of his Calvinistic contemporaries, was Samuel Rutherford, professor of divinity in the university of St. Andrews. He produced, in 1649, "A Free Disputation against pretended Liberty of Conscience," which Taylor never noticed so far as to answer, but which appears to have been one, at least, of the causes which led Milton, who is said to have always admired Taylor, and whose zeal for toleration was as unlimited and

[l] Hammond's Works, vol. i. p. 451.

[m] Life of Hammond. Wordsworth's Eccles. Biography, vol. v. pp. 375, 376, and Note.

[n] Quarterly Review, vol. xv. p. 491.

as consistent as Taylor's was, to insert the name of Rutherford in the contemptuous diatribe to which I have alluded[o].

An attack of a different kind has, in later times, been made on the Liberty of Prophesying, arraigning not the principles of the work, but the motives and sincerity of the author in maintaining them. He has been represented as arguing, not from his own personal conviction, but as an advocate, and to serve the temporary ends of his party; since, though a churchman, he was a dissenter when the Liberty of Prophesying was written. "He was then," proceeds the writer from whose work this charge is taken, "pleading for toleration to episcopacy. He must either have written what he did not himself fully believe, or, in a few years, his opinion must have undergone a wonderful change. With the return of monarchy, Taylor emerged from obscurity; wrote no more on 'the Liberty of Prophesying;' *and was a member of the privy council of Charles the Second,* from which all the persecuting edicts against the poor non-conformists proceeded. It deserves to be viewed, therefore, as the special pleading of a party counsellor, or the production of Jeremy Taylor, deprived of his benefice and the privileges of his profession, imploring relief; of which bishop Taylor, enlightened by the elevation of his episcopate, and enjoying, with the party, security and abundance, became ashamed, and, in his own conduct, published the most effectual recantation of his former opinions or sincerity[p]." And, on this supposed tergiversation of Taylor, the writer proceeds to ground the sweeping censure, that "it is vain to look for liberality or forbearance from the members of an establishment."

With the logical accuracy of the vulgar maxim, "ex uno disce omnes;" or with the degree of Christian candour which the above application of it exhibits, I have, at present, no concern; though it is possible that Mr. Orme would be displeased, and I am sure he would have sufficient right to be so, if I had reasoned, like him, from the faults or inconsistency of any single individual, to the prejudice of all the other members of the Independent persuasion. But I am

[o] Note (L.) [p] Orme's Life of Owen, London, 1820. p. 102.

only concerned with his charges against Jeremy Taylor; and am anxious, therefore, to inform him—what he might have easily learned for himself, and what it was his duty to have inquired into, before he brought such a charge as persecution against the fair fame of any man,—that though bishop Taylor was a nominal member of the *Irish* privy council, there is no reason whatever to suppose that he took a part in the measures of any administration; that the administration of Ireland did not, in fact, during the reign of Charles the Second, persecute the dissenters; that Taylor had not even an opportunity of concurring in the severe measures of the English government; and that no action of his life is known which can justly expose him to the suspicion of having been a persecutor himself, or having approved of persecution in others. That he did not write *any more about Liberty of Prophesying*, while his former work was in every body's hands, and while its principles remained unanswered, is no very serious charge against a man whose time was, in many other ways, abundantly occupied. But, that he was not ashamed of his former treatise on this subject, is apparent from the fact, that it appears in a prominent situation in the successive editions of his controversial tracts, of which one, the second, was published when he was actually bishop, and amid the recent triumph of his party. Nor, though there are, unquestionably, some passages in the Liberty of Prophesying where Taylor speaks rather as urging what may be said in behalf of the more obnoxious creeds, than as expressing his own opinion, can I conceive that an intelligent and candid reader will find any difficulty in distinguishing between such passages and those where he pleads (with every appearance of the deepest and most conscientious conviction) the common cause of all Christian sects under persecution. That, in so doing, he might be animated with the greater zeal by the circumstance that his own sect was thus unhappily situated, I am neither obliged nor inclined to deny. Nor do I conceive that this circumstance alone would lead a candid mind to suspect his sincere belief of those general principles on which he proceeds; or his anxiety, that not the church of England alone, but all other Christian communions, should be partakers in the benefit of his arguments. Had it been otherwise, indeed,

he would rather, as an artful advocate, have applied himself to the palliation of the particular differences existing between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians, than have offended the prejudices of these last, in the pride of their new-blown success, by advancing principles which they were so little prepared to receive, and encumbering his cause with the patronage of those sects who were the objects of still greater abhorrence and alarm than his own persecuted communion.

The truth is, however, that, if we consider the moment at which the Liberty of Prophesying appeared, and consider also, not only the spirit of mutual concession which it breathes, but the principles on which it rests, and the natural consequences which flow from them, we shall perceive that the Presbyterians were not the only party for whose instruction it was designed, and that its object was to induce not only an abatement of the claims which they were then urging on the king, but a disposition on the king's part, and on the part of his advisers among the episcopal clergy, to concede somewhat more to those demands than their principles had as yet permitted them. The circumstances of the times, in 1647, were such, indeed, as to offer a greater probability than at any former period of the war, that moderate counsels would prevail, and that an arrangement of mutual toleration might be adopted, which would preserve the kingly government, and heal, in a certain degree, the religious feuds of the nation. King Charles was removed from the custody of the parliamentary commissioners to what were supposed the more indulgent hands of Cromwell and the army. His person was treated with far greater respect than formerly. His chaplains were allowed to officiate in his presence according to the English Service Book; and all parties were so situated, that it seemed the interest of all to court him. The parliament and the army were at open variance; and the two prevailing sects, the Presbyterians and Independents, were scarcely less incensed with each other than with the episcopal clergy. Even these last were not yet universally ejected from their benefices; and the force of private character, the fame of extensive learning, and, perhaps, the ties of blood and friendship, were of sufficient weight, till this year, to protect Hall in his episcopal palace at Norwich, and Sander-

son and Hammond in their public situations at Oxford[q]. All which seemed wanting to an accommodation, was to convince the several parties that the points in question were those on which they might conscientiously give way to the opinions or prejudices of their brethren; and that, so far from being bound to destroy each other's persons, they might meet in the same places of worship, and conform to that government, and those rites (whichever of the contending parties should be most favoured in them), which might be agreed on by the king and parliament.

That this was Taylor's own opinion, and that he desired his arguments to take effect on all the different parties of the nation, is apparent, I think, from the fact of his having dedicated this work to so strenuous a high churchman as Hatton, as well as from the anxiety which he expresses, not only that persecution for religious opinions might cease, but that contention about them might be suspended; that the churches of Christ should be distinguished by no other names than those of the nations in which they were established; and that each church might receive to its bosom men of various opinions, even as that Heaven of which the Christian church ought to be the living image. And it is evident, that, if his arguments had produced their due effect on both sides, the main obstacle would have been removed to a treaty between the king and his people; a grievous dissension healed in the churches; and not only the Episcopalians relieved from their immediate oppressions, but the opposite party preserved from those severities which, on the restoration of kingly power, were most unwisely exercised against them. Meanwhile (and the observation will be found of some importance to justify Taylor's consistency), it plainly followed from his principles, that, in points of themselves indifferent, (even granting that it might be tyranny to impose a rule,) it was causeless rebellion to resist a rule already imposed; and it followed also, (which was still more important under the peculiar circumstances of the times,) that concession and moderation were to be

[q] Hume, chap. lix., and Note (C.) Bishop Hall, Hard Measure. Wordsworth's Biography, vol. v. p. 316, et seq. Ibid. pp. 362, 439.

expected at least as much from those who desired a change, as from those who were content with the forms and institutions of their ancestors.

Of Taylor's domestic concerns during this interval we know very little. I have already expressed my suspicions that a second marriage was the cause of his withdrawing from the king's service; and it is certain that this event must have taken place before the period of which I am writing, since, of his three daughters, the youngest was married (as appears by the settlement) in 1668.

This second wife was a Mrs. Joanna Bridges, who was possessed of a competent estate at Mandinam, in the parish of Llanguedor, and county of Carmarthen. Her mother's family is unknown; but she was generally believed to be a natural daughter of Charles the First, when Prince of Wales, and under the guidance of the dissipated and licentious Buckingham. That the martyr's habits of life, at that time, were extremely different from those which enabled him, after a twenty years' marriage, to exult, while approaching the scaffold, that, during all that time, he had never, even in thought, swerved from the fidelity which he owed to his beloved Henrietta Maria, there is abundant reason to believe; nor are the facts, by any means, incompatible. The former, indeed, rests chiefly on the authority of Mr. Jones's papers; but the circumstances which he mentions are in part corroborated by the marriage settlement of bishop Taylor's third daughter, now lying before me, in which Joanna Taylor the elder, described as his widow and executrix, settles on her daughter the reversion of the Mandinam property; while the existence of such a property and mansion is confirmed to me by the testimony of my kind and amiable friend, archdeacon Beynon. I regret to state, however, that, from the mutilated condition of the parish register at Llanguedor, and from the present circumstances of the Mandinam property, his exertions have failed to procure me any further information as to Joanna Bridges, or her maternal ancestors. She is said, in lady Wray's letter, to have been brought up in much privacy by some relations in Glamorganshire; to have possessed a very fine person, (of which, indeed, her portrait, yet preserved by the

family, is a sufficient evidence); and, both in countenance and disposition, to have displayed a striking resemblance to her unfortunate father.

But, notwithstanding the splendour of such an alliance, there is no reason to believe that it added materially to Taylor's income. We have seen him, after his first imprisonment, compelled to keep school for his subsistence. From the manner in which, when writing both to Evelyn and Hatton, he speaks of his "shipwreck," it is probable that he was not released from the consequences of his enterprise at Cardigan without a heavy amercement of his wife's estate; and, as his school seems to have been broken up by his repeated imprisonments, his chief support must have been his literary labours, and the kindness of his numerous friends.

Of these, the most eminent in rank was Richard Vaughan, earl of Carbery, whose seat at Golden Grove was in the same parish where Taylor's lot was thrown, and whose bounty and hospitality, during several years, appear to have been his chief dependence and comfort. Though now chiefly remembered as Taylor's patron, Vaughan was a man of abilities, and, in his day, of high reputation. He had served with distinction in the Irish wars, for his conduct in which he had received the Order of the Bath: he had been the principal military commander on the king's side in South Wales[r]; and he received, after the Restoration, the English title of lord Vaughan of Emlyn, together with the appointment of lord president of Wales and privy counsellor. His character seems to have been mild and moderate; and though a loyalist, he had many friends among the opposite party. In consequence, after the fatal battle of Marston Moor, he was easily admitted to compound for his estates by the parliamentary commissioners; and was thus in a situation which enabled him to befriend more effectually such persons of his side as had been less favourably dealt with. He married twice. The first wife was Frances, daughter of Sir John Altham of Orbey, a woman of whom Taylor has drawn, in her funeral sermon, a picture which, making all allowance for the occasion on which it was

[r] Rushworth, ubi supra, p. 303.

preached and the gratitude of the preacher, belongs rather to an angelic than a human character. The second was Alice, eleventh daughter of John Egerton, first earl of Bridgewater, and remarkable as being both the subject of much elegant eulogium from Taylor, and the original of the "Lady" in Milton's Comus[a]. In the friendship of this family Taylor found a happy asylum; and it was within their walls, and to their family and immediate neighbourhood, that, when the churches were closed against his ministry, he delivered his yearly course of sermons.

The next in succession of his literary labours was the "Apology for Authorized and Set Forms of Liturgy against the Pretence of the Spirit;" the appearance of which, in its first and imperfect state, has been already noticed, and which was followed, in a very few months, by a work of greater bulk, and far more extensive popularity, (the first, perhaps, of his writings which was speedily and widely popular,) "The Life of Christ; or, the Great Exemplar."

Of the three parts into which this splendid work is divided, each has a separate dedication; an engine of harmless flattery, which Taylor was too grateful, or too poor, to omit any fair opportunity of employing. The first is inscribed to his friend, lord Hatton, and the second to Mary, countess of Northampton; whose husband, Spencer Compton, earl of Northampton, had, as it appears from some of Taylor's expressions, been engaged, at the time of his death, (which took place in the battle at Hopton Heath, on the royal side,) in a work of a similar character. The third, in the first edition, was dedicated to Frances lady Carbery; and, after her death, another dedication was added, in the third edition, to her successor, the lady Alice Egerton.

All these dedications are in Taylor's characteristic manner. The last was, perhaps, the most difficult to compose; and he has contrived in it, with great and singular felicity, to offer, at the same time, his congratulations to the living lady Carbery, and to express his regrets for her deceased predecessor. While he compliments his present patroness on her own personal advantages, he calls her attention, in a solemn and affecting manner, to the duties of her new

[a] Note (M.)

situation; and he avows, with courteous frankness, that her chief claim, thus early in their acquaintance, on his own affection and prayers, was her being "in the affections of her noblest lord, successor to a very dear and most excellent person; designed to fill those offices of piety to her dear pledges, which the haste which God made to glorify and secure her, would not permit her to finish;" and "to bring new blessings to that family, which was so honourable in itself, and, for so many reasons, dear to him."

In the dedication to Hatton, the duty of obedience to the "king" is mentioned in a manner which has led Mr. Bonney to believe that the Great Exemplar must have been written, though not published, before 1648, while Charles the First was yet alive. He forgets that the king of England never dies, and that a loyalist like Taylor regarded Charles the Second as his sovereign, though, at the time, under adversity and in exile.

There is, however, another expression in this dedication, by which I am myself considerably perplexed. Taylor, at the end, entreats lord Hatton to "account him in the number of his *relatives*." Does this mean merely his *friends*, or *dependents*?—or is it to be understood, in the usual sense of the word, and as Taylor, in other places, employed it, to denote an alliance by blood or marriage?—An alliance by blood we can hardly suppose; but one by marriage is not impossible. But to ascertain the fact, it would be previously necessary to ascertain the maternal relations of Taylor's second wife, who, of the two, is most likely to have been connected with the Hattons.

The extensive popularity of the Great Exemplar appears to have co-operated with Taylor's natural averseness from controversy, to determine the character of his next publications.

His works, during three successive years, were entirely of a devotional or practical character; consisting of a Sermon on the Death of the excellent Lady Carbery; to which is subjoined a long Latin inscription, probably not intended for her monument, but to be affixed, as usual in those days, to her coffin, while lying in state;—a short Catechism for Children;—his 27 Sermons for the summer half-year;—and his Holy Living and Dying;—the two last of which had

been composed at the desire, and for the use of his late patroness, and are inscribed to her afflicted husband.

Controversy, however, was not entirely to be avoided; and, in 1654, the insulting triumph of some Roman Catholics over the fallen condition of the English church provoked him to re-examine the leading points of difference between the two communions, and produced the "Real Presence and Spiritual of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, proved against the Doctrine of Transubstantiation;" and dedicated to Warner, bishop of Rochester, a worthy and a wise man, who, even in the times of general distress, continued, from his scanty means, to assist the still deeper poverty of Taylor, and by whose counsels, as will hereafter appear, it had been well, in one instance, if the latter had been more implicitly guided.

The church of Rome might be offended with impunity; but Taylor's zeal for episcopacy about this time involved him with a more formidable adversary. He had, during this year, expanded his "Catechism for Children," already noticed, into the beautiful Manual which, in honour of the hospitable mansion of lord Carbery, he has entitled "the Golden Grove." This he now published, with a preface, which, though ostensibly calculated (and perhaps intended) to conciliate the Protector in favour of the persecuted church of England, as friendly to established governments, and more particularly to *monarchy*, contained many expressions which were likely to provoke, to the utmost extent, both the Presbyterian and Independent clergy, and some which Cromwell himself might reasonably conceive insidious or insulting. He was accordingly committed to prison; in what month, or at what place, I have not been able to ascertain. Our whole knowledge of the fact is, indeed, derived from a letter from the amiable John Evelyn, of Says Court, dated February 9, 1654; in which, while the writer expresses the anxiety which he had felt on the news of his friend's calamity, he congratulates him on being again at liberty[t].

When, and under what circumstances, his acquaintance with Evelyn had commenced, does not appear. The latter

[t] Note (M.)

speaks of himself as one of his auditors, in a church in the city, on the 15th of April, 1654, but with no indication that he was at that time particularly interested in him. During this spring, however, the acquaintance was improved into a nearer and more confidential intimacy. Taylor having visited London, we find Evelyn, on the 18th of March, one of a congregation of Episcopalians, to whom he preached a sermon on sins of infirmity and their remedy; and, on the 31st of the same month, Evelyn paid him a visit, "to confer with him about some spiritual matters, using him thenceforward as his ghostly father[u]." His friendship, indeed, and his liberality, were, from this time, among the chief sources of Taylor's happiness; since, besides the remarkable agreement which Evelyn expressed with all Taylor's religious sentiments, and the countenance and comfort which the latter derived from the support of one so distinguished for station, loyalty, and piety, his wealth appears to have been administered with no sparing hand, for the support of his confessor and his family.

Taylor's troubles, however, were not yet concluded. On the 18th of May there is another letter from Evelyn, written in great and evident distress of mind, and under the apprehension of an approaching persecution, in which he pretty plainly intimates that the person whom he addresses was again in custody, and in which he urges him to publish something for the comfort and guidance of the devout laity, who, by the loss of their faithful and orthodox teachers, were deprived of all outward means of grace, not only in the case of preaching and the common prayer, but of the orderly administration of the sacraments[x]. This letter did not reach Taylor, to all appearance, for several months after it was written. It certainly was not answered by him till the January following; and had probably the same fate with other letters which passed at the same time through Royston's hands, being detained by him under the impression that a captive would not be allowed to receive it.

Of this second confinement, the scene was, I apprehend, in Chepstow Castle. Its cause does not appear. It can hardly have arisen from the same publication which had

[u] Note (N.) [x] Note (O.)

already been visited on him with a similar sentence; and Mr. Bonney's conjecture, that he was suspected of being engaged in the unfortunate and ill-contrived insurrection of Penruddock and Groves, in 1654, as it rests on no authority, is rendered improbable by the fact that, subsequent to the suppression and punishment of those unfortunate gentlemen, he was, as we have seen, at large, and exercising his ministerial functions in London. To some supposed connexion with their enterprise, the previous imprisonment which I have noticed, and which, till the publication of Evelyn's Memoirs, was unknown and unsuspected, might be, with greater likelihood, ascribed. And it is certainly not improbable, that though the ground alleged, and, perhaps, the immediate occasion of that severity, might be the expressions in his Golden Grove,—yet the usurping government may have been led to notice such expressions, contrary to Cromwell's usual and courageous neglect of "paper pellets," by the dangers of the times, and the character of Taylor as an able and distinguished loyalist. It is, however, tolerably certain, that either no connexion existed between him and the insurgents at Salisbury, or that none such was discovered by the government, since he would, in that case, hardly have escaped so well as with a few months' confinement.

Even his second imprisonment at Chepstow was neither severe nor long. In the letter to Warren, published with his Deus Justificatus, he says, "I now have that liberty that I can receive any letters, and send any; for the gentlemen under whose custody I am, as they are careful of their charges, so they are civil to my person[y]." His amiable manners, no less than his high reputation for talents and piety, seem, at all times, to have impressed and softened those who were, from political and polemical considerations, most opposed to him. And there is also room to suspect, that the estate of his wife was again drawn on largely to conciliate the ruling powers; and that these last were content to grant some degree of freedom to a learned and holy man, whom they had reduced to almost abject poverty.

Neither imprisonment nor poverty, however, had power

[y] Answer to a Letter touching Original Sin, vol. ix. p. 365.

to cramp the fertility of Taylor's genius, or to deter him from the expression of his sentiments, though at the risk of offending those whose good opinion was most valuable to him. Besides completing his Ενιαυτος, or Series of Sermons for the whole year, by the addition of the twenty-five discourses which, though last published, stand first in the volume, he produced, at the beginning of the present year, his "Unum Necessarium: or, the Doctrine and Practice of Repentance; describing the necessity and measures of a strict, a holy, and a Christian life, and rescued from popular errors."

In this work he had, as its title implies, expressed himself concerning the nature of original sin, and the extent of man's corruption, in a manner, if not unprecedented and unwarrantable, at least at variance with the opinion of Christians in general, and more particularly of the Protestant churches; and he appears to have felt, and not without reason, considerable anxiety as to the manner in which his work would be received by them. From the Calvinists he neither expected nor wished for approbation; but, in order to conciliate the favour or soften the opposition of the members of his own communion, a single dedication did not appear sufficient. Besides an epistle to lord Carbery, he has introduced his treatise with a preface inscribed to the bishops of Salisbury and Rochester, and the rest of the clergy of the church of England, in which he strenuously, though with many expressions of humility and submission to his spiritual superiors, exculpates himself from the charge of heresy, or of holding language inconsistent with the liturgy and articles of religion[z].

The apology thus made was not, however, thought sufficient. The letters from Evelyn, already referred to, though they prove that Evelyn himself was a convert to his friend's opinions, prove also that a considerable alarm was excited among the orthodox clergy, not only by the supposed danger of the doctrine thus advanced, but by the scandal to which their persecuted church would be exposed, if the charge of Pelagianism, so often brought against it, should receive support from the writings of one of its most distinguished

[z] Preface to the Clergy of England, vol. vii. p. cclv.

champions. Warner addressed him in a private letter of expostulation and argument, of which we now know nothing except through the answer. The venerable Sanderson, too, (who, though honoured and courted by the ruling party, had relinquished, for conscience sake, the chair of regius professor of divinity in Oxford,) though he had by this time abandoned the high Calvinistic interpretation of the articles which in his earlier life he had defended, is said to have deplored, with much warmth, and even with tears, this departure from the cautious and scriptural decision of the church of England; and to have bewailed the misery of the times, which did not admit of suppressing, by authority, so perilous and unseasonable novelties.

The good old man had, perhaps, never read—it may be thought, at least, that he had not greatly profited by the perusal of—the "Liberty of Prophesying." But it would be putting too harsh a construction on his words to apprehend that, by the authority which he invoked, he meant the *civil* sword; or that he desired to employ against Taylor any other weapons than those spiritual censures which every religious community has a right to exercise against its erring members. Be this as it may, it was fortunate for Taylor that persuasion and argument were the only engines in the professor's power; and these he sought for in two letters to Thomas Barlow, then fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, and librarian of the Bodleian, afterwards Sanderson's own successor in the see of Lincoln, whom he exhorted, with much earnestness, though without success, to undertake the refutation of Taylor's error[a].

Taylor, in the meantime, was not idle in his own defence. While a prisoner at Chepstow, he produced the "Further Explication of the Doctrine of Original Sin," which now constitutes the seventh chapter of the "Unum Necessarium," but was at first published separately, with the dedication to the bishop of Rochester, which still accompanies it.

This tract, indeed, he in the first instance submitted to the inspection, correction, or suppression of the prelate to whom it is inscribed, in a letter, hitherto unpublished, the

[a] Barlow's Letter to Walton. Life of Sanderson. Wordsworth, Eccl. Biog. vol. v. p. 548. Kennet's Register, p. 633.

autograph of which is now before me. Warner (as appears from an almost illegible and very imperfect draught of his answer on the back) expressed himself, perhaps with reason, still unsatisfied; and refused to revise a work, which, in fact, was a reinforcement of the previous offensive position. The offer, however, is at least an evidence, that, if Taylor were wrong, he was not unwilling to be instructed, and that the error of his opinions was not rendered more offensive by a self-confident and dogmatical temper. With such a disposition, he might *err*, but he could hardly be an *heretic*. The letter is as follows:—

"RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

"My very good Lord,—I wrote to your Lor^p. about a fortnight or three weekes since, to w^h. letter, although I believe an answer is upon the road, yet I thought fitt to prevent the arrival of by this addresse; together with which I send up to Royston a little tract, giving a further account of that doctrine which some of my brethren were lesse pleased with. And although I find, by the letters of my friends from thence, that the storme is over, and many of the contradictors professe themselves of my opinion, and pretend that they were so before, but thought it not fit to owne it, yet I have sent up these papers, by which (according to that counsel which your Lor^p. in your prudence and charity was pleased to give me) I doe intend, and I hope they will effect it, [to] give satisfaction to the church and to my jealous brethren: besides, possibly, they may prevent a trouble to me, if peradventure any man should be *tam otiose negotiosus* as to write against me. For I am very desirous to be permitted quietly to my studies, that I may seasonably publish the first three books of my Cases of Conscience, which I am now preparing to the presse, and by which, as I hope to serve God and the church, so I doe designe to doe some honour to your Lor^p., to whose charity and noblenesse I and my relatives are so much obliged. I have given order to Royston to consigne these papers into your Lor^p.'s hands, to peruse, censure, acquit, or condemne, as your Lor^p. pleases. If the written copy be too troublesome to read, your Lor^p. may receive them from the presse, and yet suppresse them before the publication, *si minus probentur*. But if, by your

Lor^{p}.'s letters, which I suppose are coming to mee, I find any permission or counsel from your Lor^{p}. that may cause me to alter or adde to what is sent up, I will obey it, and give Royston order not to post so fast, but that I may overtake him before these come abroad. But I was upon any termes willing to be quit of these, that I might no longer suffer or looke upon any thing that may retard my more beloved intendment.

" My Lord, I humbly begge your blessing upon

" Your Lor^{p}.'s most obliged and most affectionate and thankful Servant,

" Mandinam, November 17, 1655." " JER. TAYLOR."

From this letter it appears that he was already released from prison, and at his wife's house of Mandinam. And since, from his published answer to Warner, annexed to the " Deus Justificatus," it is certain that he was still in Chepstow Castle about the middle of September, we may, probably enough, state the duration of his confinement from May to October inclusive. Nor is this the only interesting fact which this letter gives us to understand. It represents him as already considerably advanced in the composition of his " Ductor Dubitantium ;" and proves to us, through how many years of his life, and with what a devoted earnestness, he was employed on the work to which he looked forward as the surest pledge of his future celebrity. Nor, when we recollect the far greater popularity enjoyed by his devotional works over this favourite product of his genius and industry, can we avoid some painful reflections on the short-sighted estimate often formed by the best and wisest of mankind, as to the celebrity and utility of their different labours.

The following letter to Evelyn, which has been published by Dr. Bray, was, probably, also written from Mandinam. The letters to which it is an answer do not appear.

" TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

" HONOUR'D AND DEARE S^{r}, — Not long after my coming from my prison, I met with your kind and friendly letters, of which I was very glad, not onely because they were a testimony of your kindnesse and affections to mee,

but that they gave mee a most welcome account of your health, and (which now-a-dayes is a great matter) of your liberty, and of that progression in piety in which I doe really rejoyce. But there could not be given to mee a greater and more persuasive testimony of the reality of your piety and care, than that you passe to greater degrees of caution and the love of God. It is the worke of your life, and I perceive you betake yourselfe heartily to it. The God of heaven and earth prosper you and accept you!

"I am well pleased that you have reade over my last booke: and give God thanks that I have reason to believe that it is accepted by God and by some good men. As for the censure of unconsenting persons, I expected it, and hope that themselves will be their owne reproovers, and truth will be assisted by God, and shall prevaile, when all noises and prejudices shall be ashamed. My comfort is, that I have the honour to be an advocate for God's justice and goodnesse, and that ye consequent of my doctrine is that men may speake honour of God, and meanely of themselves. But I have also this last weeke sent up some papers, in which I make it appeare that the doctrine which I now have published was taught by the fathers within the first 400 years; and have vindicated it both from novelty and singularity. I have also prepared some other papers concerning this question, which I once had some thoughts to have published. But what I have already said, and now further explicated and justified, I hope may be sufficient to satisfy pious and prudent persons, who doe not love to goe *quà itur*, but *quà eundum est*. S^r^, you see how good a husband I am of my paper and inke, that I make so short returnes to your most friendly letters. I pray be confident, that, if there be any defect here, I will make it up in my prayers for you and my great esteeme of you, which shall ever be expressed in my readinesse to serve you with all the earnestnesse and powers of,

DEARE S^r^,

"Your most affectionate friend and servant,

"November 21, 1655." "JER. TAYLOR."

This is a pious and eloquent letter; but there are some parts of it which should serve as a caution to all religious disputants. Whatever may be thought of his peculiar opinions, there are few who will venture to assert that such a man as Taylor either embraced them rashly, or professed them without sincerity, or was negligent in his applications to the throne of grace for celestial light and assistance. The doctrines, however, are, it will be readily allowed by most men in the present day, (as it was seen and deplored by the wisest and most learned theologians of the age in which Taylor lived,) irreconcilable with the articles of the church which he loved and honoured, and contrary to the plain sense of those Scriptures which were his consolation and his guide. It is even probable that he would never have entertained them, had it not been for the monstrous and dangerous glosses with which the truth had been obscured by Augustine and his followers; by which our nature, instead of being "*very far* gone from original righteousness," is represented as become utterly diabolical, and the gracious remedy provided for the disease of all mankind is confined to a few favoured individuals.

Yet these doctrines, which appear to most of us, as they doubtless appeared to Taylor, so offensive to reason, and so unworthy of the Deity, were maintained by men as wise, perhaps, and certainly as holy, as Taylor himself, who, on their parts, regarded with horror his denial of absolute predestination, and of the doctrine that infants unbaptized were immediate objects of God's anger. Such considerations should not only lead us to think charitably of the persons with whom we differ, but should warn us against a too hasty condemnation of their opinions. They should warn us against supposing the reverse of wrong to be right; and should endear to us still more the moderation, the discretion, and the humility, with which, on these awful and most mysterious subjects, our own excellent and apostolic church has expressed herself. There is yet one caution more. Taylor, as the reader will have seen, was confident in the truth of his hypothesis, from the persuasion that it manifested the goodness and justice of God, and taught men to "speake honour of God, and meanely of themselves." It is probable that, on these very same grounds, the most

vehement of his adversaries were prejudiced in favour of Calvinism. The inference is plain, that, though it be sufficient cause to reconsider most diligently and most jealously whatever opinion appears to us or to others to militate against our natural notions of fitness and general analogy of the Divine perfections,—yet, is it wise, in all such cases, to suspect that our own perceptions may be erroneous, our own reasoning inconsequent; and that it becomes us to believe of God, not so much what we may think worthy of him, as what he has himself revealed concerning his nature and his actions.—As a commentator on Scripture, as a guide to the interpretation of Scripture, our reason is most useful and most necessary; but Scripture, and Scripture only, is the rule of faith; and that is the perfection of reason which leads us to adhere most closely to the only guide which, in all necessary points of belief, is infallible.

It appears that Evelyn, during the early part of the winter, renewed his application to Taylor, that he should undertake some work adapted to the use of Christians when deprived of a regular ministry, and the sacraments which a regular ministry only can, ordinarily, dispense with efficacy. It appears, indeed, that the former letter had been overlooked by Taylor, in the pressure of his troubles and his studies, till now a second time recalled to his mind, since "the distich on the departed saint" is plainly that which is given in Evelyn's letter of May, 1655.

Some other correspondence, besides that which has been already noticed, and to which Taylor alludes, as containing the "vile distich on the departed saint," must, at all events, have passed, since Taylor, in the following letter, speaks of Evelyn's apologies for troubling him, and his offers of pecuniary assistance. The Birkenhead whose repartee he mentions, was, probably, John Birkenhead, author of the "Mercurius Aulicus." The letter is now first given to the public.—

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

"St. Paul's Convers. 5ȷ.

"DEARE Sr,—I perceive by your symptoms how the spirits of pious men are affected in this sad catalysis: it is an evil time, and we ought not to hold our peace; but now the question is, who shall speake? Yet I am highly per-

suaded, that, to good men and wise, a persecution is nothing but a changing the circumstances of religion, and the manner of the formes and appendages of divine worship. Publike or private is all one: the first hath the advantage of society, the second of love. There is a warmth and light in that; there is heate and zeale in this; and, if every person that can, will but consider concerning the essentials of religion, and retaine them severely, and immure them as well as he can with the same or equivalent ceremonies, I know no difference in the thing, but that he shall have the exercise, and, consequently, the reward of other graces, for which, if he lives and dies in prosperous dayes, he shall never be crowned. But the evills are, that some will be tempted to quit their present religion, and some to take a worse, and some to take none at all. It is a true and a sad story; but *oportet esse hæreses*, for so they that are faithful shall be knowne; and I am sure He that hath promised to bring good out of evil, and that all things shall co-operate to the good of them that feare God, will verify it concerning persecution. But concerning a discourse upon the present state of things in relation to soules and our present duty, I agree with you that it is very fitt it were done, but yet by somebody who is in London, and sees the personal necessities and circumstances of pious people. Yet I was so far persuaded to doe it myselfe, that I had amassed together divers of my papers useful to the worke; but my Cases of Conscience call upon me so earnestly, that I found myselfe not able to beare the cries of a clamorous conference. S^r^, I thank you for imparting to me that vile distich of the dear departed saint. I value it as I doe the picture of deformity or a devil; the art may be good, and the gift faire, though the thing be intolerable; but I remember, that when the Jesuits, sneering and deriding our calamity, shewed this sarcasme to my lord Lucas, Birkenhead, being present, replied as tartly, 'It is true our church wants a head now; but if you have charity as you pretend, you can lend us one, for your church has had two and three at a time.' S^r^, I knowe not when I shall be able to come to London; for our being stripped of the little reliques of our fortune remaining after ye shipwrecke, leaves not cordage nor sailes sufficient to beare me thither. But I hope to be able to commit to

the presse my first bookes of Conscience by Easter time; and then, if I be able to get up, I shall be glad to wayte upon you; of whose good I am not more sollicitous than I am joyful that you so carefully provide for it in your best interest. I shall only give you the same prayer and blessing that St. John gave to Gaius; 'Beloved, I wish that you may be in health and prosper;' and your soule prospers; for so, by the rules of the best rhetorike, the greatest affaire is put into a parenthesis, and the biggest businesse into a post-script. S^r^, I thanke you for your kind expressions at the latter end of your letter: you have never troubled mee, neither can I pretend to any other returne from you but that of your love and prayers. In all things else I doe but my duty, and I hope God and you will accept it; and that, by meanes of his own procurement, he will, some way or other (but how I know not yet), make provisions for mee. S^r^, I am, in all heartinesse of affection,

"Your most affectionate friend and
minister in the Lord Jesus,
"JER. TAYLOR[b]."

Taylor's poverty, however, was either not so great as he, at this moment, apprehended it would be, or the kindness of his friends enabled him to enjoy, much sooner than he had expected, the happiness of their society. His acknowledgments to Warner, in the letter already given, and the letter which now follows, to Sheldon, are proofs that he had other friends besides Evelyn, both anxious, and, in some degree, able to render him pecuniary assistance. Sheldon, it will be recollected, as warden of All Souls, had opposed Taylor's election to a fellowship. It is pleasing to find them now reconciled. The letter is without date; but the amount of the progress which the writer professes to have made in his Ductor Dubitantium forbids us to place it later[c].

"TO DR. SHELDON.

"DEAR SIR,—I received yours, dated November 5, in which I find a continued and enlarged expression of that

[b] Evelyn Papers, ined.

[c] This letter was copied by Dr. Birch into his Collection of Letters. Brit. Mus. MSS. Donat. 4162. art. 19.

kindness with which you have always assisted my condition and promoted my interest. Two debts you are pleased to forgive me; one of money, the other of unkindness. I thank you for both; but this latter debt was contracted when I understood not you, and less understood myself; but I dare say there was nothing in it but folly and imprudence. But I will not do it so much favour as to excuse it. If it was displeasing to you then, it is much more to mee now that I know of it.

"Sir, I will be sure, by the grace of God assisting me, that Mr. Royston shall pay in ten pounds to your nephew, Mr. Joseph Sheldon, before Candlemass. If you please in the interim to send to him the bond, or any other power to discharge me, you will much oblige me. But, Sir, I desire that, by a letter from you to me, you will be pleased, on receipt of that money, to disoblige and free my duty and conscience, for that is the favour and the peace I desire in this particular. Sir, I am to thank you for the prudent and friendly advice you were pleased to give me in your other letter relating to my great undertaking in *Cases of Conscience*. I have only finished the first part yet; the præcognita and the generals. But in that and the remaining parts I will strictly observe your caution. Sir, though it hath always been my fortune to be an obliged person to you, and [I] now have less hope than ever of being free from the great variety of your endearments, yet I beg of you to add this favour,—to think that I am all that to you which you can wish, save only that I cannot express how much I love and how much I honour you. Sir, I beg also your prayers, and the continuance of your kind affection to,

"DEAR SIR,

"Your most affectionate and obliged friend and servant,

"JER. TAYLOR."

From whatever quarter he obtained the means of his journey, it is certain, however, that Taylor visited London; for, on the 12th of April, he dined with Evelyn at Sayes Court, in company with Berkeley, Boyle, and Wilkins, and occupied with them in the discussion and examination of

philosophical and mechanical subjects[d]. Of this visit, he, four days after, speaks with lively and natural delight in the following letter; in which, however, as will be observed, while complimenting the taste of his friend, he does not forget to mingle Christian caution and rebuke with his felicitations.

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

"April 16, 1656.

"HONOUR'D AND DEARE S^r^,—I hope your servant brought my apology with him, and that I already am pardoned, or excused in your thoughts, that I did not returne an answer yesterday to your friendly letter. S^r^, I did believe myselfe so very much bounde to you for your so kind, so friendly reception of mee in your *Tusculanum*, that I had some little wonder upon mee when I saw you making excuses that it was no better. S^r^, I came to see you and your lady, and am highly pleased that I did so, and found all your circumstances to be an heape and union of blessings. But I have not either so great a fancy and opinion of the prettinesse of your aboad, or so low an opinion of your prudence and piety, as to thinke you can be any wayes transported with them. I know the pleasure of them is gone off from their height before one month's possession; and that strangers, and seldome seers, feele the beauty of them more than you who dwell with them. I am pleased, indeed, at the order and the cleannesse of all your outward things; and look upon you not onely as a person, by way of thankfulnesse to God for his mercies and goodnesse to you, specially obliged to a greater measure of piety, but also as one who, being freed in great degrees from secular cares and impediments, can, without excuse and allay, wholly intend what you so passionately desire, the service of God. But, now I am considering yours, and enumerating my owne pleasures, I cannot but adde that, though I could not choose but be delighted by seeing all about you, yet my delices were really in seeing you severe and unconcerned in these things, and now in finding your affections wholly a stranger to them, and to communicate with them no portion of your

[d] See below, Note (P.)

passion but such as is necessary to him that uses them or receives their ministries. S^r^, I long truly to converse with you; for I doe not doubt but in those liberties we shall both goe bettered from each other. For your *Lucretius*, I perceive you have suffered the importunity of too kind friends to prevaile with you. I will not say to you that your *Lucretius* is as far distant from the severity of a Christian as the faire Ethiopian was from the duty of B^p^. Heliodorus; for indeede it is nothing but what may become the labours of a Christian gentleman, those things onely abated which our evil age needes not; for which also I hope you either have by notes, or will by preface prepare a sufficient antidote: But since you are ingag'd in it, doe not neglect to adorne it, and take what care of it it can require or neede; for that neglect will be a reproofe of your own act, and looke as if you did it with an unsatisfied mind, and then you may make that to be wholly a sin, from which onely by prudence and charity you could before be advised to abstain. But, S^r^, if you will give me leave, I will impose such a penance upon you for your publication of Lucretius, as shall neither displease God nor you; and since you are buisy in that which may minister directly to learning, and indirectly to error or the confidences of men, who of themselves are apt enough to hide their vices in irreligion, I know you will be willing, and will suffer your selfe to be intreated, to imploy the same pen in the glorifications of God, and the ministeries of eucharist and prayer. S^r^, if you have M^r^. *Silhon de l'Immortalité de l'Ame*, I desire you to lend it mee for a weeke; and believe that I am in great heartinesse and dearenesse of affection,

"DEARE S^r^,

"Your obliged and most affectionate friend and servant,

"JER. TAYLOR*."

On the sixth and seventh of the following month, we find Evelyn bringing to Taylor a young Frenchman, a proselyte to the English church and a candidate for orders, for his examination and recommendation to a bishop. Taylor, being well satisfied with him, did accordingly recommend

* Evelyn Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 102.

him to some Irish prelate whom Evelyn calls the bishop of Meath, then living in abject distress in London, and to whom the fees paid by Evelyn were a matter of charity. "To that necessity," he naturally exclaims, "were our clergy reduced[f]."

Long after this Taylor does not appear to have remained in London. His next letter is from Wales, and obviously in answer to one now lost, in which the same friend to whose regard he was so much indebted appears to have offered him, on the part of Mr. Thurland, an asylum in the neighbourhood of London. Mr., afterwards Sir Edward Thurland, and one of the barons of the Exchequer, was an eminent lawyer, and author of a work on Prayer; on which Evelyn sent him a letter, published in the interesting collection to which I have so often had occasion to refer. His offer, whatever it were, seems to have been a liberal one, since Taylor speaks of it as rendering a change of residence not impossible to him. The letter is interesting in itself, as displaying Taylor's character and sentiments under the pressure of a heavy affliction; and it also seems to fix pretty accurately the appearance of his "Deus Justificatus."

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

"July 19, 1656.

"DEARE S^r^,—I perceive the greatnesse of y^r^ affections by your diligence to inquire after and to make use of any opportunity [which] is offered whereby you may oblige mee. Truly, S^r^, I doe continue in my desires to settle about London, and am only hindered by my *Res angusta domi;* but hope in God's goodnesse that He will create to mee such advantages as may make it possible; and when I am there, I shall expect the daily issues of the Divine Providence to make all things else well; because I am much persuaded that, by my abode in ye voisinage of London, I may receive advantages of society and bookes to enable mee better to serve God and the interest of soules. I have no other designe but it; and I hope God will second it with his blessing. S^r^, I desire you to present my thankes and

[f] Note (P.)

service to Mr. Thurland; his society were argument enough to make mee desire a dwelling thereabouts, but his other kindnesses will also make it possible. I would not be troublesome; serviceable I would faine be, usefull, and desireable; and I will endeavour it if I come. S^r^, I shall, besides what I have already said to you, at present make no other returne to Mr. Thurland; till a little thing of mine be publike, which is now in Royston's hands, of Original Sin; the evils of which doctrine I have now laid especially at ye Presbyterian doore, and discours'd it accordingly, in a missive to ye countesse dowager of Devonshire. When that is abroad, I meane to present one to Mr. Thurland; and send a letter with it. I thanke you for your Lucretius. I wished it with mee sooner; for, in my letter to ye countesse of Devonshire, I quote some things out of Lucretius, w^h^ for her sake I was forced to English in very bad verse, because I had not your version by mee to make use of it. Royston hath not yet sent it mee downe, but I have sent for it: and though it be no kindness to you to reade it for its owne sake, and for the worthinesse of the worke; because it deserves more; yet, when I tell you that I shall, besides the worth of the thing, value it for the worthy author's sake, I intend to represent to you, not onely the esteeme I have of your worthinesse, but the love also I doe and ever shall beare to y^r^ person. Deare Sir, I am in some little disorder by reason of the death of a little child of mine, a boy that lately made us very glad: but now he rejoyces in his little orbe, while we thinke, and sigh, and long to be as safe as he is. S^r^, when your Lucretius comes into my hands, I shall be able to give you a better account of it. In ye mean time I pray for blessings to you and your deare and excellent lady: and am,

"DEARE SIR,

"Your most affectionate and endeared friend and servant,

"JER. TAYLOR[s]."

The following letter touches on a deficiency in the public service of the English church, which has been often lamented,

[s] Evelyn Papers, inedit.

but is easier to lament than repair. Taylor himself, to judge from the few specimens which he has given of religious poetry in a metrical form,—for, in a more enlarged sense of the term, all his devotional writings are poetry,—would have fallen into the errors, as well as rivalled the beauties, of Cowley. Evelyn, though of genius far inferior, (indeed, with all his virtues and accomplishments, genius can hardly be said to have entered into his character,) would, perhaps, have been more fortunate. His ear for music was good, and highly cultivated; he was sincerely pious; and the general simplicity of his style would have been in his favour, in an undertaking where, by a singular fatality, Addison has succeeded better than either Pope, Dryden, or Milton. The praises of Evelyn's Lucretius which follow, may, perhaps, appear exaggerated. But some allowance must be made for the partiality of friendship, and the gratitude of one who had just received a present from his patron. Evelyn's translation, however, is by no means a contemptible work; and he is fairly entitled to the credit of having transfused the sense, if not all the spirit, of his original, into harmonious English verses.

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

"DEARE SIR,—At last I have got possession of that favour you long since designed to mee;—your Lucretius. Sir, shall I tell you really how I am surprized?—I did believe (and you will say I had some reason) that Lucretius could not be well translated. I thought you would doe it as well as any one, but I knew the difficulty, *ex parte rei*, was almost insuperable. But, Sir, I rejoyce that I find myself deceived: and am pleased you have so wittily reprov'd my too hasty censure. Mee thinkes now, Lucretius is an easy and smooth poet, and that it is possible for the same hand to turn Aristotle into smooth verse. But, Sir, I pray tell mee why you did so grudge your annotations to the publike? I am sure you neede not blush at them; but you may well chide yourself for offering to conceale them. Sir, you know I was not apt to counsel the publication of this first booke: but I should not repine (so the labour of it were over) that it were all done by the same hand, so perfectly doe I find myselfe confuted by your most ingenious pen. I was once bold with

you; I would faine be so once more. It is a thousand pitties but our English tongue should be enriched with a translation of all the sacred hymnes which are respersed in all the rituals and church bookes. I was thinking to have beg'd of you a translation of that well-knowne hymne, 'Dies iræ, dies illa, Solvet sêclum in favillâ;' which, if it were a little changed, would be an excellent divine song: but I am not willing to bring trouble to you: onely it is a thousand times to be lamented that the beaux esprits of England doe not think divine things to be worthy subjects for their poesy and spare houres. I have commanded Royston to present to you two copyes of a little letter of mine to ye c. dowager of Devon: of which, if you please to accept one, and present the other from mee to your friend Mr. Thurland, you will very much oblige mee, who already am,

"DEARE SIR,

"Your most affectionate and endeared

"August 23, —56." "JER. TAYLOR[h]."

TO THE SAME.

"9ber 15, 1656.

"HONOUR'D AND DEARE SIR,—In the midst of all the discouragements which I meet withall in an ignorant and obstinate age, it is a great comfort to mee, and I receive new degrees of confidence, when I find that yourself are not only patient of truth, and love it better than prejudice and prepossession, but are so ingenuous as to dare to owne it in despite of the contradicting voices of error and unjust partiality. I have lately received from a learned person beyond sea certaine extracts of the Easterne and Southerne Antiquities, which very much confirme my opinion and doctrine; for the learned man was pleased to expresse great pleasure in the reasonablenesse of it and my discourses concerning it. Sir, I could not but smile at my owne weaknesses, and very much love the candour and sweetnesse of your nature, that you were pleased to endure my English

[h] Evelyn Papers, ined.

poetry: but I could [not] be removed from my certaine knowledge of my owne greatest weaknesses in it: but if I could have had your Lucretius when I had occasion to use those extractions out of it, I should never have asked any man's pardon for my weake version of them; for I would have used none but yours, and then I had beene beyond censure, and could not have needed a pardon. But, Sir, the last papers of mine have a fate like your Lucretius: I, meane so many errata's made by the printers, that, because I had not any confidence by the matter of my discourse and the well-handling of it, as you had by the happy reddition of your Lucretius, I have reason to beg your pardon for the imperfection of the copy. But I hope the printer will make amends in my Rule of Conscience, which I find hitherto he does with more care. But, Sir, give me leave to aske, why you will suffer yourselfe to be discouraged in the finishing Lucretius? They who can receive hurt by the fourthe booke understand the Latin of it; and I hope they who will be delighted with your English, will also be secur'd by your learned and pious annotations, which I am sure you will give us along with your rich version. Sir, I humbly desire my service and great regards to be presented by you to worthy Mr. Thurland: and that you will not faile to remember mee when you are upon your knees. I am very desirous to receive the '*dies iræ, dies illa*' of your translation; and, if you have not yet found it, upon notice of it from you I will transmit a copy of it. Sir, I pray God continue your health and his blessinges to you and your deare lady and pretty babies; for which I am daily obliged to pray, and to use all opportunities by which I can signify that I am,

"DEARE SIR,

"Your most affectionate and endeared servant,

"JER. TAYLOR[1]."

In all these letters, it may be observed with how much anxiety and uneasiness he contemplated the opposition made to his Doctrine of Original Sin, and the remonstrances

[1] Evelyn Papers, ined.

addressed to him on the subject by the most eminent persons in his own communion. The same feeling is betrayed in the dedication of the "Deus Justificatus," already so frequently alluded to; and which, together with a letter addressed to himself by Warner in the course of the preceding year, and two letters in answer to that learned prelate, he published a short time before the date of his last letter to Evelyn. He there enlarges with some asperity on the unfavourable reception which his former work on Repentance had met with, not only from the Presbyterians, but from some of those "to whom he gave and designed his labours, and for whose sake he was willing to suffer the persecution of a suspected truth." The opposition which he had met with, he complains, was not open, inasmuch as no man had, as yet, appeared in public against his doctrine, but that there were many who "entered into the houses of the rich and honourable, and whispered secret oppositions and accusations rather than arguments."

"Madam," he continues, "I know the arts of these men; and they often put me in mind of what was told me by Mr. Sackvill, the late earl of Dorset's uncle, that the cunning sects of the world (he named the Jesuits and the Presbyterians) did more prevail by whispering to ladies, than all the church of England and the more sober Protestants could do by fine force and strength of argument."

The man who writes thus (however he may profess, as he does in another part of the same dedication, that, "if any man differed from him in opinion, he is not troubled at it," and that men "ought to love alike, though they do not understand alike,") is evidently suffering under contradiction which he did not expect, and which he has not learned very well to bear. But Taylor was poor and persecuted,—neither of them circumstances which improve the temper. He was, moreover, at this time under the pressure of a severe domestic affliction; and we may easily forgive to the afflicted parent a peevishness, which is less excusable in a practised disputant, and one who, by the promulgation of an unusual opinion, had, as if by choice, laid himself open to contradiction.

The "Deus Justificatus" is the only work which was published in this year with Taylor's name, or which can be

ascertained with any degree of certainty to be his composition. As I have, however, had the misfortune to find myself opposed to the judgment of some of my ablest and most valued friends, in refusing to the "Treatise on Artificial Handsomeness" a place in the present collection, it is, at least, my duty to give some account of that work, and of the sort of evidence on which it has been generally attributed to Jeremy Taylor.

It first appeared in 1656, in a small volume printed by Royston, Taylor's usual publisher, without the author's name, and, whimsically enough, adorned with the same frontispiece of a woman, with a sun on her breast, pointing upwards to heaven, and trampling on a whole toilet of ornaments, mirrors, and patches, which is prefixed to the first edition of "The Ladies' Calling." There are even some peculiarities in the method of employing *italics* which correspond with the general practice observed throughout that work, and some slight similarities of style, though by no means sufficient to lead us to attribute the two works to the same author. The preface, indeed, of the "Artificial Handsomeness" expressly assures us, that this last was not only occasioned, but chiefly composed, by a lady, — an assertion which has been thought to be belied by the style of the composition and the learning which it displays. The latter, I confess, does not appear to me extraordinary, or, in that learned age, such as might not, very probably, have been attained by many well-educated females. It chiefly displays itself in a readiness in quoting the Scriptures; in a familiarity with the popular ascetic writers of the day, and in a few references to ancient fathers; to which, it may be observed, the fair disputant was guided by the very arguments of those English divines whom she endeavours to prove mistaken. Still, however, it has not the appearance of a woman's composition; though I must repeat, that a far less extent of learning, than was possessed by Jeremy Taylor, was competent to all the authorities and illustrations on which so much stress has been laid, and which have been supposed so plainly to designate him as the author.

In 1662, however, while Taylor was yet alive, another edition appeared, with the initials on the title-page, "J. T. D. D.," which Kennet (whose critical acumen is, indeed,

good for nothing, but who is a competent evidence as to the general opinion which prevailed in his time,) supposes to stand for "Jeremy Taylor, Doctor of Divinity[k];" and it is also certain that Taylor employed the same signature in the title-page to the first edition of his beautiful Essay on Friendship.

Lastly; in the epistle dedicatory, prefixed to the third edition, in 1701,—it is described as the work of "a late learned Bishop,"—while Anthony Wood, who, though like Kennet, utterly without taste or critical discrimination, was, still more than him, a diligent collector and careful examiner of literary history, has inserted it, without any apparent scruple, in his list of Taylor's writings. And many considerable modern critics have been induced, by these reasons, and by the supposed striking similarity of its style to that of his acknowledged works, to support his claim to it with a confidence and zeal which, under other circumstances, I should hardly have thought myself justified in opposing.

On the other hand, it may be observed, that it was by no means an unexampled deception in the booksellers of the seventeenth century to affix, without sufficient authority, or even against their better knowledge, the names of eminent persons to works of which those persons were altogether guiltless. Though Taylor was alive in 1662, he was then in Ireland, and little likely to interest himself in the refutation of a charge which, if he ever heard it, he, perhaps, would think ridiculous.

Wood is not consistent with himself in placing this work among his writings; since he elsewhere, with equal confidence, ascribes it to Gauden; and my friend, Mr. Bliss, whose authority is deservedly eminent on all such questions, is disposed to take the credit, such as it is, away from both, and to class it among the productions of Obadiah Walker[l].

On the resemblance or dissimilarity of style, when the subject is so different from those which, in other instances, have employed Taylor's genius, it would be unsafe to give a positive opinion. The whole treatise is, undoubtedly, an

[k] Kennet's Register, 737. [l] Wood's Athenæ, ed. Bliss, vol. 3. col. 790.

ingenious piece of special pleading in a bad and foolish cause; and it is distinguished by a vivacity of diction and illustration which, though it is in some degree a characteristic of all the satirical writings of that age, may not unfrequently remind the reader of the language of Taylor's controversial treatises. But, for the occasional bursts of passion and sublimity which, in his avowed works, flow from him as if in spite of himself: for the ardent piety which was inherent in his hourly thoughts and lightest expressions; for the strains of affecting eloquence, with which he is ever anxious to draw men from questions of less importance to practical devotion and holiness; we may search throughout the "Artificial Handsomeness" in vain. Nor are these the strongest arguments against supposing him its author. That which with me weighs most of all, is found in the subject of the work itself, which is a formal defence of painting the face, a practice obviously inconsistent with the ascetic opinions to which he was through life inclined, and one which he himself, with perhaps too great severity, has classed in his "Holy Living," in the same category with "singular and affected walking, proud, nice and ridiculous gestures of the body, lascivious dressings," and the other least equivocal arguments of a worldly and immodest character. "Menander in his comedy," (he elsewhere observes,) "brings in a man turning out his wife from his house, because she stained her hair yellow, which was then the beauty.

Νον δ' ἔρπ' ἀπ' οἴκων τῶνδε· τὴν γυναῖκα γὰρ
Τὴν σώφρον' οὐ δεῖ τὰς τρίχας ξανθὰς ποιεῖν.

A wise woman should not paint. A studious gallantry in clothes cannot make a wise man love his wife the better.

"Ἐις τοὺς τραγωδὺς χρήσιμ', ὐκ ἐις τὸν βιὸν, said the comedy. Such gaieties are fit for tragedies, but not for the uses of life.

"Indeed, the outward ornament is fit to take fools, but they are not worth the taking: but she that hath a wise husband, must entice him to an eternal dearness, by the veil of modesty and the grave robes of chastity, the ornament of meekness, and the jewels of faith and charity. *She must have no fucus but blushings,* her brightness must be pure, and must shine round about with sweetness and

friendship, and she shall be pleasant while she lives, and desired when she dies. If not,

———Καθανῦσα δὲ πύστια
Οὐδέ τις μνημοσύνα σέθεν ἔσσεται,
Οὐ γαρ μετέχεις ῥόδων τῶν ἐκ Πιερίης—

"Her grave shall be full of rottenness and dishonour, and her memory shall be worse after she is dead[m]." Who will, after this, believe that Jeremy Taylor can have become the patron of ceruse and antimony?

On the whole, however, as a report certainly began to prevail in his life-time, that he was the author of this whimsical treatise, I am inclined to account for this report, by ascribing its composition to some one, whose intimacy with him was such, as to render it likely that he had seen and revised it in the manuscript, or even that he had been an agent in transmitting it to the printer. Nor can I fix on any hypothesis more likely, or which accords so well with the declaration prefixed to the first edition, as that it was the work of Katherine Philips, who was, as will be hereafter shown, the *Orinda* of Taylor's friendship, and who had sufficient opportunity of studying his style to produce even a better imitation than appears to me to be afforded by the dialogue under consideration. To say the truth, I little care who may have written it, provided it does not pass for Taylor's[n].

The chastening hand of Providence was not yet withdrawn from Taylor's domestic comforts, as appears from an affecting letter which, though the copy in the British Museum has no superscription, I am strongly inclined, from the internal evidence which it displays of intimacy between the parties, no less than the mention of Mr. Thurland which occurs in it, to consider as also addressed to Evelyn.

"Deare Sir,—I know you will either excuse or acquit, or at least pardon mee that I have so long seemingly neglected to make a returne to your so kind and friendly letter; when I shall tell you that I have passed through a great cloud which hath wetted mee deeper than the skin. It hath pleased God to send the small poxe and feavers among my

[m] Holy Living, vol. v. p. 105. Sermon on the Marriage Ring, p. ii. vol. v. pp. 277, 278.

[n] Note (Q.)

children; and I have, since I received your last, buried two sweet, hopeful boyes; and have now but one sonne left, whom I intend, if it please God, to bring up to London before Easter, and then I hope to waite upon you, and by your sweet conversation and other divertisements, if not to alleviate my sorrow, yet, at least, to entertain myself and keep me from too intense and actual thinkings of my trouble. Dear S^r^, will you doe so much for mee as to beg my pardon of Mr. Thurland, that I have yet made no returne to him for his so friendly letter and expressions. S^r^, you see there is too much matter to make excuse; my sorrow will, at least, render me an object of every good man's pity and commiseration. But, for myself, I bless God, I have observed and felt so much mercy in this angry dispensation of God, that I am almost transported, I am sure, highly pleased with thinking how infinitely sweet his mercies are when his judgments are so gracious. S^r^, there are many particulars in your letter which I would faine have answered; but, still, my little sadnesses intervene, and will yet suffer me to write nothing else: but that I beg your prayers, and that you will still own me to be,

"DEARE AND HONOURED SIR,

"Your very affectionate friend and hearty servant,

"Feb. 22, 165⅘." "JER. TAYLOR*."

In this letter, the style and sentiments of which are so characteristic, that there can be no doubt of its authenticity, there are some particulars which call for further notice. The two children whom he here mentions as taken from him "by small pox and fevers," must, in all probability, have died since the former whose loss he deplored in his letter to Evelyn, of July 19,—inasmuch as, in that letter, he does not mention (what he would probably have done had the disease been the small pox,) the infection, or danger of infection of any other person of his family. The tradition, likewise, of the neighbourhood of Golden Grove (as I am assured by archdeacon Beynon,) concurs with the express statement of Rust, in his funeral sermon, in stating that

* Brit. Mus. MSS. Donat. 4274. art. 51.

Taylor, before his departure from Wales, lost *three* children in the course of a few months. It is, however, not a little perplexing that Taylor here speaks of himself as having "only one son left," while, on the other hand, the letter from his grand-daughter, Lady Wray, to which I have already more than once referred, states positively that she had "two uncles," who were the sons of her grandfather by his first marriage, and that both of them lived to manhood; while she is equally positive in stating that their mother died at Uppingham. These are points in which she could hardly have been mistaken, and I know no better or more probable way of reconciling them to this letter, than by supposing that the two sons, by his first wife, were at this time separated from him and with their mother's family, and that the children whose death he laments, as well as the surviving son whom he purposes to bring to London, and who appears to have been afterwards buried at Lisburn, in Ireland, were the fruits of his second marriage. It is strange, however, that he speaks of the son who was with him as his *only one;* and it is strange, whichever hypothesis we adopt, that he does not say any thing of his daughters, and that, in none of the letters which are preserved, is any direct mention made of either of his wives, though there is an allusion of this sort where he tells Evelyn that the little child whom he had lost, "lately made *us* here very glad." That he was a cold, or indifferent husband, or father, I cannot believe, since his works abound in allusions to domestic happiness, which could have occurred to none who had not felt that happiness, and been worthy of it.

"Nothing," he tells us in his 'Marriage Ring,' "can sweeten felicity itself but love. But, when a man dwells in love, then the breasts of his wife are pleasant as the droppings on the hill of Hermon, her eyes are fair as the light of heaven, she is a fountain sealed, and he can quench his thirst, and ease his cares, and lay his sorrow down upon her lap, and can retire home to his sanctuary and refectory, and his gardens of sweetness and chaste refreshments. No man can tell, but he that loves his children, how many delicious accents make a man's heart dance in the pretty conversation of those dear pledges: their childishness, their stammering, their little angers, their innocence, their imper-

fections, their necessities, are so many little emanations of joy and comfort to him that delights in their persons and society: but he that loves not his wife and children, feeds a lioness at home, and broods over a nest of sorrows; and blessing itself cannot make him happy; so that all the commandments of God enjoining a man to 'love his wife,' are nothing but so many necessities and capacities of joy. She that is loved, is safe; and he that loves is joyful. Love is an union of all things excellent; it contains in it proportion and satisfaction, and rest and confidence; and I wish that this were so much proceeded in, that the heathens themselves could not go beyond us in this virtue, and its proper and its appendant happiness. Tiberius Gracchus chose to die for the safety of his wife; and yet, methinks, to a Christian to do so, should be no hard thing; for many servants will die for their masters, and many gentlemen will die for their friend, but the examples are not so many of those that are ready to do it for their nearest relations, and yet some there have been. Baptiste Fregosa tells of a Neapolitan, that gave himself a slave to the Moors that he might follow his wife; and Dominicus Catalusius, the prince of Lesbos, kept company with his lady when she was a leper; and these are greater things than to die[p]."

The traditionary accounts of Taylor, which are yet to be recovered in South Wales, agree with Anthony Wood, in relating that, after the distressing visitation which his letter records, he left his residence near Golden Grove, and officiated in a small and private congregation of Episcopalians in London. He appears, in fact, from Evelyn's diary, to have been in London some part of this year; since, on the 25th of March, he showed Evelyn his manuscript of the Cases of Conscience, now fitted for the press; and, on June the seventh, we find him officiating in the drawing-room at Say's Court, in the baptism of Evelyn's fourth son. By his recommendation too, (though whether that recommendation was conveyed by letter, or in a personal interview, we are not informed,) Evelyn, on the 16th of July, used his interest with the patron of the living of Eltham, in behalf of a young man named Moody[q].

[p] Vol. v. p. 269. [q] Note (R.)

But, if Taylor had really fixed himself at this time in London, it is remarkable that his visits to Say's Court, considering the nature of the friendship between him and Evelyn, are not more frequently mentioned; and, it is stranger still, if he were officiating regularly in a small congregation of loyalists, that Evelyn has not recorded his own occasional journeys to attend the ministry of the man whom he calls his spiritual father. And, notwithstanding Wood's assertion, I am greatly inclined to doubt that he ever permanently settled in the metropolis, though his annual visits thither may have easily given rise to the opinion.

It is certain, at least, that in the letter which relates the death of his children, he speaks of his intended journey to London in terms which imply a relaxation and temporary escape from afflicting thoughts, rather than a permanent change of residence, or the undertaking of fresh duties and a new sphere of usefulness. Be this as it may, his poverty was now alleviated by the generous grant of a yearly pension from Evelyn, which he acknowledges in a letter of most eloquent gratitude, dated the fifteenth of May; but, as usual, without mention of the place whence he wrote it.

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

"HONOUR'D AND DEARE SIR,—A stranger came two nights since from you with a letter, and a token; full of humanity and sweetnesse that was, and this of charity. I know it is more blessed to give than to receive; and yet as I no ways repine at the Providence that forces me to receive, so neither can I envy that felicity of yours, not onely that you can, but that you doe give; and as I rejoyce in that mercy which daily makes decrees in heaven for my support and comfort, soe I doe most thankfully adore the goodnesse of God to you, whom he consignes to greater glories by the ministeries of these graces. But, Sir, what am I, or what can I doe, or what have I done, that you thinke I have or can oblige you? Sir, you are too kinde to mee, and oblige me not onely beyond my merit, but beyond my modesty. I onely can love you, and honour you, and pray for you: and in all this I cannot say but that I am behind hand with you, for I have

found so great effluxes of all your worthinesse and charities, that I am a debtor for your prayers, for the comfort of your letters, for the charity of your hand, and the affections of your heart. Sir, though you are beyond the reach of my returnes, and my services are very short of touching you, yet if it were possible for me to receive any commands, the obeying of which might signify my great regards of you, I could with some more confidence converse with a person so obliging; but I am oblig'd and asham'd, and unable to say so much as I should doe to represent myselfe to be

"HONOUR'D AND DEARE SIR,

"Your most affectionate and obliged friend and servant,

"May 15, 1657." "JER. TAYLOR[r]."

The favour which Evelyn, as alluded to in the above letter, had spoken of as in the power of Taylor to confer on him, he explained in a subsequent note to be one, to request which was, in itself, a pleasing mark of friendship and high opinion, that he would come to christen his son. The answer shows that Taylor was at this time occupied in his beautiful Essay on Friendship, and that he had communicated his plan to Evelyn.

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

"HONOUR'D AND DEARE SIR,—Your messenger prevented mine but an houre. But I am much pleased at the repetition of the divine favour to you in the like instances; that God hath given you another testimony of his love to your person, and care of your family; it is an engagement to you of new degrees of duty, which you cannot but superadde to the former, because the principle is genuine and prolific, and all the emanations of grace are univocal and alike. Sir, your kind letter hath so abundantly rewarded and crown'd my innocent indeavours in my descriptions of Friendship, that I perceive there is a friendship beyond what I have fancied, and a real material worthinesse beyond the heights of the most perfect ideas: and I know now where to make my booke perfect, and by an appendix to outdoe the

[r] Evelyn Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 119.

first Essay; for when any thing shall be observed to be wanting in my character, I can tell them where to seek the substance, more beauteous than the picture, and by sending the readers of my booke to be spectators of your life and worthinesse, they shall see what I would faine have taught them, by what you really are. Sir, I shall, by the grace of God, wait upon you to-morrow, and doe the office you require; and shall hope that your litle one may receive blessings according to the heartinesse of the prayers which I shall then, and after, make for him: that then also I shall wayte upon your worthy brothers, I see it is a designe both of your kindnesse and of the Divine Providence.

"SIR,

"I am your most affectionate and most faithful friend and servant,

"June 9, 1657." "JER. TAYLOR[a]."

The following letter was, probably, written from Mandinam. It sufficiently indicates the nature of that to which it was an answer. It is singular that Evelyn should have been harassed by doubts of this kind, and still more curious and interesting to see the manner in which Jeremy Taylor attempted to solve them.

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

"Aug. 29, 57.

"SIR,—I am very glad that your good nature hath overcome your modesty, and that you have suffered yourself to be persuaded to benefit the world rather than humor your owne retirednesse. I have many reasons to incourage you, and the onely one objection which is the leaven of your author 'de providentiâ,' you have so well answered, that I am confident, in imitation of your great Master, you will bring good out of evil: and, like those wise physicians, who, giving *αλεξιφαρμακα*, doe not onely expell the poyson, but strengthen the stomach, I doubt not but you will take all opportunities, and give all advantages, to the reputation and

[a] Evelyn Memoirs, vol. ii. pp. 118, 119, 120.

great name of God; and will be glad and rejoyce to imploy your pen for him who gave you fingers to write, and will [quære 'witt?'] to dictate.

"But, Sir, that which you check at is the immortality of the soule: that is, its being in the interval before the day of judgment; which you conceive is not agreeable to the Apostles' Creed, or current of Scriptures, assigning (as you suppose), the felicity of Christians to the resurrection. Before I speake to the thing I must note this, that the parts which you oppose to each other, may both be true. For the soule may be immortal, and yet not beatified, till the resurrection. For to be, and to be happy or miserable, are not immediate or necessary consequents to each other. For the soule may be alive, and yet not feele; as it may be alive and not understand; so our soule, when we are fast asleepe, and so Nebuchadnezzar's soule, when he had his lycanthropy. And the Socinians, that say the soule sleepes, doe not suppose that she is mortal; but, for want of her instrument, cannot doe any acts of life. The soule returnes to God; and that, in no sense, is death. And I thinke the death of the soule cannot be defined; and there is no death to spirits but annihilation. I am sure there is none that we know of or can understand. For, if ceasing from its operations be death, then it dies sooner than the body: for oftentimes it does not worke any of its nobler operations. In our sleepe we neither feele nor understand. If you answer, and say, it animates the body, and that is a sufficient indication of life: I reply that, if one act alone is sufficient to show the soule to be alive, then the soule cannot die; for in philosophy it is affirmed, that the soule desires to be re-united; and that which is dead desires not: besides, that the soule can understand without the body is so certaine, (if there be any certainty in mystic theology), and so evident in actions which are reflected upon themselves, as a desire to desire, a will to will, a remembering that I did remember; that, if one act be enough to prove the soule to be alive, the state of separation cannot be a state of death to the soule: because she then can desire to be re-united, and she can understand: for nothing can hinder from doing those actions which depend not upon the body, and in which the operations of the soule are not organical.

"But to the thing. That the felicity of Christians is not till the day of judgment I doe believe next to an article of my creed; and so far I consent with you: but then I cannot allow your consequent; that the soule is mortal. That the soule is a complete [qu. complex?] substance, I am willing enough to allow in disputation; though, indeed, I believe, the contrary; but I am sure no philosophy and no divinity can prove its being to be wholly relative and incomplete. But, suppose it: it will not follow that, therefore, it cannot live in separation. For the flame of a candle, which is your owne similitude, will give light enough to this enquiry. The flame of a candle can consist or subsist, though the matter be extinct. I will not instance Licetus his lampes, whose flame had stood still 1500 years, viz. in Tullie's wife's vault. For, if it had spent any matter, the matter would have been exhaust long before that: if it spends none, it is all one as if it had none; for what need is there of it, if there be no use for it, and what use if no feeding the flame, and how can it feed but by spending itselfe? But the reason why the flame goes out when the matter is exhaust, is because that litle particle of fire is soone overcome by the circumflant aire and scattered, when it wants matter to keepe it in union and closenesse: but then, as the flame continues not in the relation of a candle's flame, when the matter is exhaust, yet fire can abide without matter to feed it: for itselfe is matter; it is a substance. And so is the soule: and as the element of fire, and the celestial globes of fire eat nothing, but live of themselves; so can the soule when it is divested of its relative, and so would the candle's flame, if it could get to the regions of fire, as the soule does to the region of spirits.

"The places of Scripture you are pleased to urge, I shal reserve for our meeting or another letter; for they require particular scrutiny. But one thing only, because the answer is short, I shall reply to; why the apostle, preaching Jesus and the resurrection, said nothing of the immortality of the soule? I answer, because the resurrection of the body included and supposed that. [illegible]. And if it had not, yet what need he preach that to them which in Athens was beleived by almost all their schooles of learning? For, besides that the immortality of the soule was beleived by the Gymnoso-

phists in India, by Trismegist in Egypt, by Job in Chaldea, by his friends in the east, it was also confessed by Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Thales Milesius, and by Aristotle, as I am sure I can prove. I say nothing of Cicero, and all the Latins; and nothing of all the Christian schooles of philosophy that ever were. But when you see it in Scripture, I know you will no way refuse it. To this purpose are those words of St. Paul, speaking of his rapture into heaven. He purposely and by designe twice says, whether in the body or out of the body I know not: by which he plainly says, that it was no ways unlikely that his rapture was out of the body; and, therefore, it is very agreeable to the nature of the soule to operate in separation from the body.

"Sir, for your other question, how it appeares that God made all things of nothing? I answer; it is demonstratively certaine; or else there is no God. For, if there be a God, he is the one principle:—but, if he did not make the first thing, then there is something besides him that was never made; and then there are two eternals. Now if God made the first thing, he made it of nothing. But, Sir, if I may have the honour to see your annotations before you publish them, I will give all the faithful and most freindly assistances that are in the power of,

"Deare Sir,

"Your most obliged and affectionate Servant,

"JER. TAYLOR."[1]

This letter, undoubtedly, displays, in every part of it, a vigorous and richly cultivated mind; and those arguments which the writer has taken from Scripture, or from his own natural acuteness, are sufficient, in almost every instance, to establish the solemn truths for which he is contending. Where he fails, he fails from a reliance on an unsound philosophy; from taking those things for granted which it is impossible to prove,—or which are now universally abandoned as fabulous.

Thus, if Evelyn had inquired from what philosophical

[1] Evelyn Papers, inedit.

presumption he learned, that the disembodied soul "desires to be re-united," he would have been only able to urge the dicta of men as ignorant as himself, or who reasoned from their present perceptions to what their perceptions should be in a different state of existence, the very fact of which was first to be shown, before that probability could be determined which he here assumes as proof of the premises. The fable of the sepulchral lamp he, indeed, hardly ventures to rely on, though he instances it in a manner which would lead us to suspect he believed it. But, that the flame of a candle might, but for the accident of the circumfiant air, continue to burn without its fuel,—absurd as it now sounds, is to be laid at the door of that division of the four elements which no man, before the last century, called in question,—though, had a sturdy reasoner demanded proofs of "the region of fire," of the self-nourished flame of the sun and stars, and the other gratuitous assumptions of the ancient system,—the philosopher must have been content to hold his peace, or to quote, (what, indeed, was reckoned sufficient,) the mere authority of Aristotle or the schoolmen.

His reasons why St. Paul, in preaching Jesus and the resurrection to the Athenians, omitted all mention of the soul's immortality, are, however, abundantly satisfactory. And, though far stronger texts might be alleged in support of the doctrine than that in which the same apostle is speaking of his heavenly journey,—the probability certainly is, even from that text alone, that the apostle himself took the separate existence of the soul for granted, and believed it extremely possible for a man to be, and think, and even to acquire new ideas, without the assistance of the body.

The argument, by which he attempts to prove that God created all things out of nothing, is tainted, in some degree, with the fault which I have already noticed, of reasoning from propositions as if they were axioms. He assumes it as a necessary definition of God, that he is the one principle of all things, the only Eternal;—he then argues justly, that, if there were any thing which God did not make, there would be more Eternals than one—and concludes that, in such case, neither of those Eternals could be God. Surely this is running on too fast; and, if Evelyn had been a Manichee to assert the existence of two principles,—or if, with Aris-

totle, he had esteemed God as the first Mover only, not the Creator: if, in short, on whatever plea, he had denied his friend's definition,—a very different and much longer process must have been necessary to show the reasonableness of believing, that all things, as they depend on God for their being, must have, in the first instance, derived that being from his will.

These are not the only points in which Taylor has, to all appearance, forgotten himself in the preceding letter. He professes, with much earnestness, to believe, "next to an article of his creed, that the felicity of Christians is not till the day of judgment." If he said their *complete* felicity, he would have said no more than we are led to believe, by the very fact, that we are not, till then, to rejoin our bodies, or than the Scriptures imply, in passages too numerous to be cited. But, by deferring *all enjoyment* till that time, he defers all sensation also, and may be suspected of adopting the old Socinian doctrine of the sleep of the soul; a doctrine, certainly, not inconsistent with its immortality, and far less revolting to reason and Christianity than the materialism which that sect has since embraced; but which is at variance with all the actions and habits of the soul, so far as they fall under our present observation, and is plainly contradicted by the most ancient traditionary religion of mankind; by the expectation of St. Paul that, on his departure, he was to be with Christ; by the expressions of Christ himself, in his parable of Lazarus; and by his promise to the penitent robber at his crucifixion.

It is, after all, by a reference to the law and the testimony, that the immortality of the soul is most satisfactorily established. Reason, indeed, may tell us, that the extinction of the soul does not necessarily follow the destruction of the body; that, as Taylor himself has well observed, it has functions of its own which it may separately exercise, and that it may still be conscious of its own existence, may still recollect the past, still expect the future,—though deprived of those bodily organs by which alone new ideas are to be acquired or old ones communicated. But what philosophy holds out as possible or probable, revelation alone has rendered certain, and the circumstances and employment of departed spirits, in that region whence no traveller returns,

can only be gathered from His assurances, to whom all things are known, but by whom those things only are communicated to men which are necessary to their virtue and consolation.

The controversy which Taylor had excited by his opinions on original sin, was as yet by no means at an end. The episcopalian clergy seem, indeed, to have been content with the sort of official disclaimer of such doctrines on the part of the church, which the letters of Warner afforded. But there were others who conceived themselves bound to animadvert on the error of so eminent a person, and the chief of these were two Presbyterian clergymen, Henry Jeanes, minister of Chedzoy, in Somersetshire, and John Gaule, of Staughton, in Huntingdonshire.

Of Gaule I know nothing but the interminable title of his book, to which Taylor never paid any attention[w]. Henry Jeanes, however, was an adversary not unworthy of his powers. He was a man of considerable talent, described by Wood as "an excellent philosopher, a noted mathematician, and well-grounded in polemical divinity." He had been Taylor's contemporary at Oxford, where he was celebrated as a powerful disputant, a learned preacher, and zealous against the doctrines of the Puritans. Of those doctrines, however, when their professors became prosperous and powerful, he, whether conscientiously or no, yet, certainly, at a time not very favourable to his character for disinterestedness, adopted a more advantageous opinion; and, in 1641, became distinguished as a Calvinist and Presbyterian. Unlike most renegadoes, he continued to speak and act with moderation towards the party whom he had abandoned; and was, through life, not more remarkable for his talents, than for his freedom from that sanctimonious austerity which was the usual characteristic of his new friends[x].

His attack on Taylor's work was not, in the first instance, intended for publication. In the "advertisement to the

[w] Sapientia Justificata, or a Vindication of the Fifth Chapter of the Romans, and therein of the Glory of the Divine Attributes; and that in the case of Original Sin, against any way of erroneous understanding it, whether old or new: more especially in answer to Dr. Jer. Taylor's 'Deus Justificatus.' By John Gaule, &c. &c. Lond. 1657.

[x] Wood. Athen. iii. col. 590. edit. Bliss.

unprejudiced reader," prefixed to his letters, Jeanes accounts for it in the following manner:—

"One Mr. T. C. [Thomas Cartwright,] of Bridgewater, being at my house, brake out into extraordinary (that I say not excessive and hyperbolical) praises of Dr. Jeremy Taylor, I expressed my concurrence with him in great part; nay, I came nothing behind him in the just commendations of his admirable wit, great parts, quick and elegant pen, his abilities in critical learning, and his profound skill in antiquity: but, notwithstanding all this, I professed my dissent from some of his opinions which I judged to be erroneous; and I instanced in his 'Doctrine of Original Sin.' Now his 'Further Explication' of this then lay casually in the window, (as I take it), which hereupon I took up, and turned unto the passage now under debate, and showed unto Mr. T. C. that therein were gross nonsense and blasphemy. He, for his own part, with a great deal of modesty, forthwith declined all further dispute of the business, but withal he told me that he would, if I so pleased, give Doctor Taylor notice of what I said; whereunto I agreed, and, in a short time, he brought me from the Doctor a fair and civil invitation to send him my exceptions, and with it a promise of a candid reception of them; whereupon I drew them up in a letter to Mr. T. C., the copy whereof followeth."

The controversy thus begun, was, like most others of the kind, till the parties grew warm, carried on with considerable courtesy. But the disputants, who addressed each other, in the first instance, through the medium of their common friend, Mr. Cartwright,—began, as is usual in such cases, to lose their tempers at the second replication. Each accused the other of unfairness and intemperance, and, I regret to say that, of the two, Jeremy Taylor was the most captious and personal. Yet he had some reason to complain that his opponent's whole battery was directed not against the general principle of his book, but against a detached and single expression;—and that his apparent and, in fact, his avowed object was not so much to refute the Pelagianism of Taylor, as to derogate from his reputation in the mind of one of his friends and admirers[7].

[7] See Appendix.

While Taylor was yet in London, he had shown to Evelyn his 'Ductor Dubitantium' in a state of considerable forwardness. Many years, however, were to elapse before he actually finished the printing. The importance which he attached to it, not only as the chief pillar of his fame, but as the best evidence of his activity in God's service, seem to have rendered him more cautious and timid in this than in any other of his literary enterprises, and he thought no pains too great, no consideration too minute to bestow on its principles, arrangement, and execution. During this year, however, he published his Συμβολον Ηθικο-πολεμικον, a reprint of several of his former works in folio, (amongst which was his 'Liberty of Prophesying,' with the additional arguments against the Anabaptists, and the parable of Abraham;)—and with which now appeared, for the first time, the "Discourse of Friendship." This last work was addressed to the Mrs. Katherine Philips already mentioned, the wife of a gentleman in Cardiganshire, and author of different poems and prose works, who, having possessed the advantages of an easy fortune, an amiable manner, an agreeable person, and a certain skill in stringing together rhymes and compliments, has been handed down to our times, with commendations more profuse than any thing which is to be found in her published works will, in the present age, be thought to warrant. In any age, indeed, she would have been a "blue-stocking" of distinguished celebrity. But the authors of the seventeenth century were habitually lavish of their praise on the wealthy and the fair; and "the matchless Orinda," (as she was called from having assumed that name in a long romantic correspondence with Sir Charles Cotterel,) had reason to esteem herself fortunate in having her translations of Corneille corrected by Buckhurst and Waller, and her virtues and genius eulogized, when living, by Taylor, and, after her death, by Cowley[z]. Orinda, however, was not usually ungrateful,—and, among her published poems is one to the noble Palæmon, on his incomparable "Discourse of Friendship," which has been generally, but too hastily, apprehended to refer to Taylor. Unfortunately, however, we learn from another of her compositions, (in the title to

[z] Granger, vol. iii. p. 103. Bonney, Life of Taylor, p. 259.

which Palæmon is designated by his real appellation as well as his *nom de guerre*,) that he was not Taylor, but Mr. Francis Finch, an accomplished gentleman, author of several small poems, and who, as well as Taylor, appears to have written a 'Discourse on Friendship[a].'

At the beginning of 1658, we find him again in London, though whether his visit were, in the first instance, by choice or compulsion, we must, probably, remain uninformed. Certain it is that the first place where we hear of him is the Tower, where he was confined on account of the indiscretion of his bookseller Royston, who had prefixed to his 'Collection of Offices,' a print of Christ in the attitude of prayer. Such representations were then termed scandalous and tending to idolatry, and an act had lately passed, inflicting on those guilty of publishing them the penalty of fine and imprisonment. Evelyn, however, whose influence was almost equal with all parties in the state, applied, through a friend, to the lieutenant of the Tower, insisting on the greatness of those services which Taylor had rendered to the cause of Protestantism, and soliciting permission that "his learned and pious friend," might be admitted to an explanation of his conduct[b].

This application appears to have been successful. On the seventeenth of the following February, there is a letter from Taylor to Evelyn, condoling with him on the death of his sons Richard and George, — in which he promises to come and see him; a promise which implies, at least, an expectation of being shortly at liberty; and we find him, in fact, eight days after, among the friends who visited Say's Court, to comfort its owner under his affliction[c]. Taylor's letter on such an occasion, who is there that would forgive my omitting?

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

"DEARE SIR, — If dividing and sharing greifes were like the cutting of rivers, I dare say to you, you would find your streame much abated; for I account myselfe to have a great cause of sorrow, not onely in the diminution of the

[a] Note (T.) [b] Note (U.) [c] Note (V.)

numbers of your joys and hopes, but in the losse of that pretty person, your strangely hopeful boy. I cannot tell all my owne sorrowes without adding to yours; and the causes of my real sadnesse in your losse are so just and so reasonable, that I can no otherwise comfort you but by telling you, that you have very great cause to mourne: so certaine it is that greife does propagate as fire does. You have enkindled my funeral torch, and by joining mine to yours, I doe but encrease the flame. 'Hoc me malè urit,' is the best signification of my apprehension of your sad story. But, Sir, I cannot choose, but I must hold another and a brighter flame to you, it is already burning in your heart; and if I can but remoove the darke side of the lanthorne, you have enoughe within you to warme yourselfe, and to shine to others. Remember, Sir, your two boyes are two bright starres, and their innocence is secured, and you shall never hear evil of them agayne. Their state is safe, and heaven is given to them upon very easy termes; nothing but to be borne and die. It will cost you more trouble to get where they are; and amongst other things one of the hardnesses will be, that you must overcome even this just and reasonable greife; and, indeed, though the greife hath but too reasonable a cause, yet it is much more reasonable that you master it. For besides that they are no loosers, but you are the person that complaines, doe but consider what you would have suffer'd for their interest: you [would] have suffered them to goe from you, to be great princes in a strange country: and if you can be content to suffer your owne inconvenience for their interest, you command [commend?] your worthiest love, and the question of mourning is at an end. But you have said and done well, when you looke upon it as a rod of God; and he that so smites here will spare hereafter: and if you, by patience and submission, imprint the discipline upon your own flesh, you kill the cause, and make the effect very tolerable; because it is, in some sense, chosen, and therefore, in no sense, insufferable. Sir, if you doe not looke to it, time will snatch your honour from you, and reproach you for not effecting that by Christian philosophy which time will doe alone. And if you consider, that of the bravest men in the world, we find the seldomest stories of their

children, and the apostles had none[d], and thousands of the worthiest persons, that sound most in story, died childlesse: you will find it is a rare act of Providence so to impose upon worthy men a necessity of perpetuating their names by worthy actions and discourses, governments and reasonings. If the breach be never repair'd, it is because God does not see it fitt to be; and if you will be of his mind, it will be much the better. But, Sir, you will pardon my zeale and passion for your comfort, I will readily confesse that you have no need of any discourse from me to comfort you. Sir, now you have an opportunity of serving God by passive graces; strive to be an example and a comfort to your lady, and by your wise counsel and comfort, stand in the breaches of your owne family, and make it appeare that you are more to her than ten sons. Sir, by the assistance of Almighty God, I purpose to wait on you some time next weeke, that I may be a witnesse of your Christian courage and bravery; and that I may see, that God never displeases you, as long as the main stake is preserved, I meane your hopes and confidences of heaven. Sir, I shal pray for all that you can want, that is, some degrees of comfort and a present mind; and shal alwayes doe you honour, and faine also would doe you service, if it were in the power, as it is in the affections and desires of,

"DEAR SIR,

"Your most affectionate and obliged freind and servant,

"Feb. 17, 1657-8. "JER. TAYLOR."

It would be at this time, if ever, that we should expect to find him settled in London. But, except in one instance, on the seventh of the following March, when Evelyn speaks of himself as attending his preaching and receiving the communion from his hands in a private house,—we have no instance on record of his exercising his ministerial functions. It is probable, indeed, that even these rare and clandestine assemblies for religious worship were abundantly hazardous to those who officiated; inasmuch as the government of Cromwell, though tolerant enough towards most sects except

[d] Note (V.)

[e] Evelyn Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 183.

the Quakers and the Episcopalians, never ceased to treat these last with great and unmingled severity. The usurper himself was, indeed, as is well known, averse to such measures, and personally well inclined not only to many individuals of the episcopal clergy, but even to their form of government. His inclinations were, however, obliged to give way to those of the zealots around him, and the whole history of the time evinces that, wicked and unwise as was the retaliation which, a few years afterwards, the Episcopalians inflicted on their opponents, it was no more than retaliation after all, and what the opposite party, therefore, on their own principles, had no right to complain of.

The friends of Taylor, however, were not unmindful of his interests and safety; and it was, perhaps, for the sake of the last, that, during this spring, they appear to have suggested a measure which, at first sight, seems extraordinary in persons to whom his ministry and his society were so dear, and to which nothing but the pressure of want or the sense of personal danger can have made Taylor look forwards with satisfaction. The well-wishers of Savage, in a subsequent age, were content, for the sake of maintaining their unfortunate client more cheaply, to assign him a residence in Wales. The admirers of Taylor found a proper soil for his virtues and his matchless talents in the north-eastern extremity of Ireland. This suggestion seems to have been made in the first instance to Evelyn, by Edward earl of Conway, who had ample estates and powerful connexions in the neighbourhood of Lisburn; and, as there is reason to believe, procured for Taylor the offer of an alternate lectureship in that borough, with a prospect of other advantages. Such an appointment, at least, and in a distant country, is alluded to by Taylor in the following letter. It is plain from lord Conway's own correspondence, preserved among the Rawdon papers, that he was induced to wish for Taylor's removal to Ireland, by an anxiety that his great talents should be employed to the spiritual advantage of his neighbourhood; and as the dates of these letters show that the negociation was at that time proceeding, it is by no means likely that that which follows refers to a different transaction. Its mutilated state is the more to be regretted, inasmuch as there are few divines of Taylor's age who would have treated

the question of usury in a manner so sensible and satisfactory. He does not, it may be observed, mention the necessity of taking the covenant as one of the objections to the proposed lectureship. How this was to be got rid of I do not know. Perhaps, as a lectureship is neither a cure of souls nor an appointment under government, it was not legally necessary; and, where the individual was popular, and supported by powerful friends, its omission might be, in some cases, winked at.

" TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

" May 12, 1658.

" HONOUR'D SIR,—I returne you many thankes for your care of my temporal affaires: I wish I may be able to give you as good account of my watchfulnesse for your service, as you have of your diligence to doe me benefit. But concerning the thing itselfe, I am to give you this account. I like not the condition of being a lecturer under the dispose of another, nor to serve in my semicircle, where a Presbyterian and myselfe shall be like Castor and Pollux, the one up and the other downe; which, methinkes, is like the worshipping the sun, and making him the deity, that we may be religious halfe the yeare, and every night serve another interest. Sir, the stipend is so inconsiderable, it will not pay the charge and trouble of remooving my selfe and family. It is wholly arbitrary; for the triers may overthrow it; or the vicar may forbid it; or the subscribers may die, or grow weary, or poore, or be absent. I beseech you, Sir, pay my thankes to your friend, who had so much kindnesse for mee as to intend my benefitt: I thinke myselfe no lesse obliged to him and you than if I had accepted it.

" Sir, I am well pleased with the pious meditations and the extracts of a religious spirit which I read in your excellent letter. I can say nothing at present but this: that I hope in a short progression you will be wholly immerged in the delices and joyes of religion; and as I perceive your relish and gust of the things of the world goes off continually; so you will be invested with new capacities, and entertained with new appetites: I say with new appetites; for in religion every new degree of love is a new appetite; as in the schooles we say, every single angel does make a

species, and differs more than numerically from an angel of the same order[f].

"Your question concerning interest hath in it no difficulty as you have prudently stated it. For in the case, you have only made yourselfe a merchant with them; onely you take lesse, that you be secured; as you pay a fine to the Assurance Office. I am onely to adde this. You are neither directly nor collaterally to engage the debtor to pay more than is allowed by law. It is necessary that you imploy youre money some way for the advantage of your family. You may lawfully buy land, or traffique, or exchange it to your profit. You may doe this by yourselfe or by another, and you may as well get something as he get more, and that as well by money as by land or goods; for one is as valuable in estimation of merchants and of all the world as any thing else can be: and mee thinkes, no man should deny mony to be valuable, that remembers, every man parts with what he hath for mony: and as lands are of a price, then [when] they are sold for ever, and when they are parted with for a yeare, so is money: since the imployment of it is as apt to minister to gaine as lands are to rent. Mony and lands are equally the matter of increase: to both of them our industry must [be] applied, or else the profit will cease: now as a tenant of lands may plough for mee, so a tenant of money may goe to sea and traffique for mee * * * * * * * * * *[g]."

Whatever reluctance Taylor may have felt to remove to such a distance from his English friends, was overcome, however, by the prospects held out in the country to which he was destined. Dr. (afterwards Sir William) Petty, whose survey of Ireland by the command of government had made him abundantly and most profitably skilled in the extent and value of the forfeited lands, offered to procure him a purchase on very advantageous terms, and recommended him by letter to several persons of talent and influence in that kingdom. He had similar letters to the lord chancellor of Ireland; to the lord Pepys; to Tomlinson, the regicide general; and the lord chief baron; and (what may be regarded as an additional proof of his high estimation with

[f] Note (Y.) [g] Evelyn Papers, ined.

all parties in the state) even Cromwell gave him a passport and protection for himself and family under his sign manual and privy signet. It would almost seem that the intrusive government were not sorry to remove to a distance from scenes where he might be dangerous, a man of so steady loyalty, and of talents so distinguished[b].

Thus furnished, he appears to have left London during the month of June, and, thenceforward, to have divided his residence between Lisburne and Portmore, about eight miles distant from that town. Perhaps, indeed, he only visited Lisburne for the discharge of his weekly lectureship, since the tradition of his descendants determines him to have chiefly, if not always, occupied a house in the immediate neighbourhood of his patron's mansion; and to have often preached to a small congregation of loyalists in the half-ruined church of Kilulta.

It is in this last named parish that the mansion of Portmore then stood, built after a plan by Inigo Jones, in a style of almost princely magnificence, of which the stables, yet remaining, are a noble, though melancholy vestige. The park is washed by the great lake of Lough Neagh, and by a smaller mere called Lough Bag (or the Little Lake), each studded with romantic islets; to some of which, according to the tradition of the vicinity, it was Taylor's frequent practice to retire for the purposes of study or devotion. Ram Island, in Lough Neagh, and a smaller rock in Lough Bag, are said to have been his favourites; the one a mile from Portmore, the other about half the distance. The first is distinguished by the ruins of a monastery, and by one of those tall round towers of uncertain use and origin, which are a romantic and characteristic feature of Irish scenery. The other is still more retired and tranquil; and both have been described to me as scenes where a painter, a poet, or a devout contemplatist, might alike delight to linger. Retired as the situation of Portmore was, his lectureship may have afforded an useful employment for his characteristic eloquence; and he found abundant leisure, in security and comparative solitude, for the labours by which his heart

[b] Note (X.)

was divided, his daily and hourly devotions, and the completion of his Ductor Dubitantium.

Poor and dependent as Taylor still continued, this was, probably, the happiest part of his life. Both now, and when in possession of wealth and dignity, he displayed a natural attachment to the neighbourhood which had afforded him such an asylum; and there are few of his letters from Ireland which do not speak of the situation of his delightful retirement with affection, and with gratitude to the Providence who had placed him there.

Of these letters, the first is from Lisnagarvy, as Lisburne was anciently called; though, even in Taylor's day, the appellation was nearly obsolete. Of the sect which he describes, I have been able to acquire no further information[1]. The anxiety which he expresses after literary news may be easily understood and appreciated. For the rest, I think we may perceive a tone of hilarity in his letter which bespeaks a mind at ease, and which is remarkably different from the constrained and desponding feeling by which many of his former communications are distinguished.

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

"Lisnagarvy, April 9, 1659.

"HONOURED SIR,—I feare I am so unfortunate as that I forgot to leave with you a direction how you might, if you pleased to honour me with a letter, refresh my solitude with notice of your health and that of your relatives, that I may rejoyce and give God thankes for the blessing and prosperity of my dearest and most honour'd friends. I have kept close all the winter, that I might, without interruption, attend to the finishing of the imployment I was engaged in: which now will have no longer delay than what it meetes in the printer's hands. But, Sir, I hope that by this time you have finished what you have so prosperously begun,—your owne Lucretius. I desire to receive notice of it from yourselfe, and what other designes you are upon in order to the promoting or adorning learning: for I am confident you will be as useful and profitable as you can be, that, by the worthiest

[1] Note (Y.)

testimonies, it may by posterity be remembered that you did live. But, Sir, I pray say to me something concerning the state of learning; how is any art or science likely to improove? what good bookes are lately publike? what learned men, abroad or at home, begin anew to fill the mouth of fame, in the places of the dead Salmasius, Vossius, Mocelin, Sirmond, Rigaltius, Des Cartes, Galileo, Peiresk, Petavius, and the excellent persons of yesterday? I perceive here that there is a new sect rising in England; the Perfectionists; for three men that wrote an Examen of the Confession of Faith of the Assembly, whereof one was Dr. Drayton, and is now dead, did starte some very odde things; but especially one, in pursuance of the doctrine of Castellio, that it is possible to give unto God perfect unsinning obedience, and to have perfection of degrees in this life. The doctrine was opposed by an obscure person, one John Tendring; but learnedly enough and wittily maintained by another of the triumvirate, W. Parker, who indeed was the worst of the three; but he takes his hint from a sermon of Dr. Drayton, which, since his death, Parker hath published, and endeavours to justify. I am informed by a worthy person, that there are many of them who pretend to great sanctity and great revelations and skill in all Scriptures, which they expound almost wholly to spiritual and mysterious purposes. I knew nothing, or but extremely little, of them when I was in England; but further off I heare most newes. If you can informe yourselfe concerning them, I would faine be instructed concerning their designe, and the circumstances of their life and doctrine. For they live strictly, and in many things speake rationally, and in some things very confidently. They excell the Socinians in the strictnesse of their doctrine; but, in my opinion, fall extremely short of them in their expositions of the practical Scripture. If you inquire after the men of Dr. Gell's church, possibly you may learne much: and, if I mistake not, the thing is worth inquiry. Their bookes are printed by Thos. Newcomb in London, but where is not set downe. The Examen of the Assemblie's Confession is highly worth perusing, both for the strangenesse of some of the things in it, and the learning of many of them.

" Sir, you see how I am glad to make an occasion to

talke with you: though I can never want a just opportunity and title to write to you as long as I have the memory of those many actions of loving kindnesse by which you have obliged,

"HONOUR'D SIR,

"Your most affectionate and indeared friend

"and humble servant,

"JER. TAYLOR.

"Be pleased to present my humble service to your honour'd and worthy brother in Covent Garden.

"I suppose my servant will wayte on you with this letter; but if he misses you, if you please at any time to write to me, if you send it to Mr. Allestree, stationer, at the Bell, in St. Paul's Church-yard, it will come to me safely[k]."

Whatever were the aids conferred on him by his new friends, of which I regret my inability to give a further account, they were not sufficient to place him above the necessity of Evelyn's yearly pension, which that excellent man continued to pay, though, as it should seem, from narrower means than before, and with some degree of inconvenience. Nor was even the solitary paradise of Portmore able to exempt him from the peculiar evils of the time, and the effects of private malice: a person named Tandy, whom Taylor calls "a madman," and who appears, by Lord Conway's letters, to have been something like an agent to different noble families, out of pure jealousy that the newcomer stood more in favour with his patrons than himself, and was a more welcome and frequent guest at their houses, denounced him to the Irish Privy Council as a dangerous and disaffected character, and, more particularly, as having used the sign of the cross in the ceremony of private baptism. Taylor himself does not seem to have been much alarmed, but Conway expresses himself on the subject with a degree of feeling which does him honour; and with an indignation against the informer, not unnatural in one who conceived that, in attacking his friend, that informer was

[k] Evelyn Papers, ined.

treating himself with ingratitude[l]. To this vexation Taylor alludes in the following letter, in which, as will be observed, he also speaks of the Perfectionists, with a degree of interest and curiosity which the sect may seem to have been of too little importance to deserve.

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

"Portmore, June 4, 1659.

"HONOURED SIR, — I have reason to take a great pleasure that you are pleased so perfectly to retaine me in your memory and affections, as if I were still neere you, a partner of your converse, or could possibly oblige you. But I shall attribute this so wholly to your goodnesse, your piety and candour, that I am sure nothing on my part can incite or continue the least part of those civilities and endearements by which you have often, and still continue to oblige me. Sir, I received your two little bookes, and am very much pleased with the golden booke of St. Chrysostom, on which your epistle hath put a black enamel, and made a pretty monument for your dearest, strangest miracle of a boy; and when I read it, I could not choose but observe St. Paul's rule: *flebam cum flentibus*. I paid a teare at the hearse of that sweet child. Your other little Enchiridion is an emanation of an ingenious spirit; and there are in it observations, the like of which are seldom made by young travellers[m]; and though by the publication of these, you have been civil and courteous to the commonwealth of learning, yet I hope you will proceed to oblige us in some greater instances of your owne. I am much pleased with your waye of translation; and if you would proceed in the same method, and give us in English some devout pieces of the fathers, and your own annotations upon them, you would doe profit and pleasure to the publicke. But, Sir, I cannot easily consent that you should lay aside your Lucretius, and having beene requited yourselfe by your labour, I cannot perceive why you should not give us the same recreation, since it will be greater to us than it could be to you, to whom it was allayed by your great labour: especially you having given us so large an essay of your ability to doe it;

[l] Note (Z.) [m] Note (A.A.)

and the world having given you an essay of their acceptation of it.

"Sir, that Pallavicini whom you mention, is the author of the late history of the Council of Trent, in two volumes in folio, in Italian. I have seene it, but had not leisure to peruse it so much as to give any judgment of the man by it. Besides this, he hath published two little manuals in 12mo. *Assertionum Theologicarum;* but these speake but very little of the man. His history, indeed, is a great undertaking, and his family (for he is of the Jesuit order), use to sell the booke by crying up the man: but I thinke I saw enough of it to suspect the expectation is much bigger then the thing. It is no wonder that Baxter undervalues the gentry of England. You know what spirit he is of, but I suppose he hath met with his match: for Mr. Peirs hath attacked him: and they are joyn'd in the lists[n]. I have not seene Mr. Thorndike's booke. You make me desirous of it, because you call it elaborate: but I like not the title nor the subject, and the man is indeed a very good and a learned man, but I have not seen much prosperity in his writings: but if he have so well chosen the questions, there is no peradventure but he hath tumbled into his heape many choice materials[o]. I am much pleas'd that you promise to inquire into the way of the Perfectionists; but I thinke L. Pembroke and Mrs. Joy, and the Lady Wildgoose, are none of that number. I assure you, some very learned and very sober persons have given up their names to it. Castellio is their great patriarch: and his Dialogue *An per Spir. S. homo possit perfectè obedire legi Dei,* is their first essay. Parker hath written something lately of it, and in Dr. Gell's last booke in folio there is much of it. Indeed, you say right that they take in Jacob Behmen, but that is upon another account, and they understand him as nurses doe their children's imperfect language; something by use, and much by fancy. I hope, Sir, in your next to me (for I flatter myselfe to have the happinesse of receiving a letter from you sometimes), you will account to me of some hopes concerning some settlement, or some peace to religion. I feare my peace in

[n] Note (B.B.) Wood's Athen. vol. ii. p. 358.
[o] Note (C.C.) Wood, vol. i. p. 461.

Ireland is likely to be short; for a Presbyterian and a madman have informed against me as a dangerous man to their religion; and for using the signe of the crosse in baptisme. The worst event of the information which I feare, is my returne into England; which although I am not desirous it should be upon these termes; yet if it be without much violence, I shall not be much troubled.

"Sir, I doe account myselfe extremely obliged to your kindnesse and charity, in your continued care of me and bounty to me; it is so much the more, because I have almost from all men but yourselfe, suffered some diminution of their kindnesse, by reason of my absence, for as the Spaniard sayes, 'The dead and the absent have but few friends.' But, Sir, I account myselfe infinitely oblig'd to you, much for your pension, but exceedingly much more for your affection, which you have so signally expressed. I pray, Sir, be pleased to present my humble service to your two honoured brothers: I shall be ashamed to make any addresse, or pay my thankes in words to them, till my Rule of Conscience be publicke, and that is all the way I have to pay my debts; that and my prayers that God would[p]. Sir, Mr. Martin, Bookseller, at the Bell, in St. Paul's Church-yard, is my correspondent in London, and whatsoever he receives, he transmits it to me carefully; and so will Mr. Royston, though I doe not often imploy him now. Sir, I feare I have tir'd you with an impertinent letter, but I have felt your charity to be so great as to doe much more then to pardon the excesse of my affections. Sir, I hope that you and I remember one another when we are upon our knees. I doe not thinke of coming to London till the latter end of summer or the spring, if I can enjoy my quietnesse here; but then I doe if God permit: but beg to be in this interval refreshed by a letter from you at your leisure, for, indeed, in it will be a great pleasure and endearment to,

"Honour'd Sir,

"Your very oblig'd, most affectionate and humble servant,

"JER. TAYLOR[q]."

[p] Note (D.D.)

[q] Evelyn Papers, ined.

In consequence of the information laid against Taylor, a warrant was issued to the Governor of Carrickfergus, by the Irish Privy Council, to bring him before them for examination[r]. In the minutes of the council no other entry occurs relating to him, and it is, therefore, probable that his friends had power to obtain his speedy discharge. The journey, however, to Dublin, in the heart of winter, was sufficient to throw him into a severe illness, which, perhaps, was admitted by the government as a plea for letting him off more easily.

In the letter of Lady Wray, to which I have already so often referred, it is said that he about this time "suffered much from Sir Phelim O'Nial." But this is, evidently, a circumstance respecting which her memory had deceived her, since that weak and cruel chieftain had suffered death some years before Taylor's arrival in Ireland. From his kindred and clan, at this time, a loyalist had nothing to apprehend, even if they had possessed the power of injuring him; and the O'Nials, as well as all the other Irish Septs, had been completely crushed by the dreadful severities of Ireton and Cromwell. In 1666, however, the neighbouring county of Tyrone was really infested, for some time, by bands of Tories and White Boys[s], and, if Taylor kept a farm, as from various circumstances he appears to have done, it is possible that his cattle may, on some occasion, have been stolen; a circumstance which might be easily exaggerated by family tradition, till it became, in the narration of his grandchild, a persecution by the Roman Catholics. But, if it had been any thing considerable, we should have found, in all probability, some mention of it in his letters; and on the contrary, I am assured that the traditions of the country imply that with the peasantry of that persuasion, his amiable temper and ascetic habits rendered him an object of regard and veneration.

It was this, perhaps, which gave occasion to a renewal of the report of his inclination to Popery, of which he complains in his "Letters to Persons changed in their Religion," which, though not now published, appear to have been written about this time. No new work of his issued from

[r] Note (E.E.)

[s] Rawdon Papers, pp. 218, 223, &c.

the press this year, for the "Ephesian Matron" is apprehended by Mr. Bonney to have been merely a reprint of that story as told in the Holy Dying[1]. The following letter, however, was published in the Θανατολογια of Dr. John Stearne, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Dublin; and is interesting, as being, except the interminable Epitaph on Lady Carbery, the only remaining specimen of the author's Latinity. The concluding compliment is lively and elegant. For the rest, it cannot be said that he flatters so beautifully in a learned language as in English. With the poor book which is beslavered with such deglutitious phrases I have no acquaintance.

"Viro amicissimo et integerrimo Johanni Stearne, Medicinæ et Philosophiæ Professori Doctissimo, εὐχαιρειν.

"Quam primùm earum mihi facta est copia, in schedas tuas involaverunt oculi et mens, amor et acumen, et tota quanta est curiositatis supellex, ut discernerem quicquid id fuit quod parturiens et ferax ingenium in lucem hodiernam destinârat bono publico.

"Tam rectè novi ingenium tuum, Stearni doctissime, ex monumentis publicis, et privatis præclaræ tuæ eruditionis indicibus, ut difficile non fuerit hariolari quid intùs lateret in Enchiridio quod festinantiùs singularis tua humanitas præmiserat, enimverò nec falsus fui. Præsensit enim animus me in hisce tabulis, ingenii cupedias et bellaria, philosophiæ inventa non vulgaria, rationis ἄηρον ἔυρημα, Artis Medicæ, quam hodiè in Hiberniæ metropoli adornas, specimen non mediocre: at cùm irrueram in interloquium, (placide enim et moderatè tot τραγήματα adire, nec enim diffitebor, impos plane fui,) me divinum sensi; et quem prægustaveram, lepidè quidem vaticinatus qualem perlecturus eram libellum, cum demùm aut avidiùs, ne totum non exhaurirem, aut pitissans, ne citius quam volueram clauderetur festum, certe mirâ cum ingluvie non uno modo ordinatâ, ingessi in animum meum: et tandem ruminans quod delibaveram, sensi clarissimè (et lætatus sum) scientiæ reconditioris arcana reserata, ingenii incomparabilis ἐπιχειρήματα, veritatis illustre et ingenuum ministerium, et quæstiones nodosas satis, sed nec inutiles, quas aut solvisti dextrè, aut dissecuisti strenuè,

[1] Bonney, Life, p. 274.

in omnibus vel Aristoteli vel Alexandro suppar: adeo ut non ineptum judicaverim gratulari Reipublicæ Literariæ hoc novum emergens decus, imo et tibi in aurem insusurrare quam fæliciter Spartam hanc exornaveris; certe bono publico, honori Academiæ Dubliniensis, usui et ornamento literatorum, saluti sedentis et desidis turbæ cogitabundorum hominum, quinimo et inclytæ famæ tuæ. Tantum est: nihil enim superest, nisi ut te amem, ut legam, ut relegam, et ut (quod vovit Socrates in intuitu et speculatione mortis,) ego pro tuis de morte præclaris lucubrationibus et longævitatis salutaribus documentis nuncuparem Gallum Æsculapio; vel potius tibi (quod Apollinis filio Heraclides constituit,) ἐλαίου κρήνην χρυσῆν του ὀγδοου. Serpentem autem et canem in æde Æsculapii tu cave. Etenim non ita pridem sensisti mordacium animalculorum morsiunculas. Vale.

"Ex amænissimo recessu in Portmore dedit

"JEREMIAS TAYLOR,
"S.S. Th. Professor."

What follows is of a very different character.

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

"HONOURED AND DEARE SIR, — Yours dated July 23d, I received not till All Saints day: it seemes it was stopp'd by the intervening troubles in England[a]: but it was lodged in a good hand, and came safely and unbroken to me. I must needes beg the favour of you that I may receive from you an account of your health and present conditions, and of your family; for I feare concerning all my friends, but especially for those few very choice ones I have, lest the present troubles may have done them any violence in their affaires or content. It is now long since that cloud passed; and though I suppose the sky is yet full of meteors and evil prognostics, yet you all have time to consider concerning your peace and your securityes. That was not God's time to relieve his church; and I cannot understand from what quarter that wind blew, and whether it was for us or against us. But God disposes all things wisely; and religion can receive no detriment or

[a] Note (F.F.)

diminution but by our owne fault. I long, Sir, to come to converse with you; for I promise to myselfe that I may receive from you an excellent account of your progression in religion, and that you are entred into the experimental and secret way of it, which is that state of excellency whether [whither] good persons use to arrive after a state of repentance and caution. My retirement in this solitary place hath been, I hope, of some advantage to me as to this state of religion, in which I am yet but a novice, but by the goodness of God, I see fine things before me whither I am contending. It is a great, but a good worke, and I beg of you to assist me with your prayers, and to obtaine of God for me that I may arrive to that height of love and union with God, which is given to all those soules who are very deare to God. Sir, if it please God, I purpose to be in London in April next, where I hope for the comfort of conversing with you. In the meane time, be pleas'd to accept my thankes for your great kindnesse in taking care of me in that token you were pleased to leave with Mr. Martin. I am sorry the evil circumstances of the times made it any way afflictive or inconvenient. I had rather you should not have been burden'd than that I should have received kindnesse on hard conditions to you. Sir, I shall not trouble your studies now, for I suppose you are very buisy there: but I shall desire the favour that I may know what you are now doing, for you cannot seperate your affaires from being of concerne to,

"DEARE SIR,

"Your very affectionate friend and humble servant,

"Portmore, Nov. 3, 1659." "JER. TAYLOR[x]."

With such humility did the author of the "Holy Living and Dying" regard his own attainments in religion, and such were his impressions of the happiness and consolation, even in this life, conferred by a pure and exalted piety! If there is something mystic in the tone which he adopts, and we are reminded, in spite of ourselves, of his previous inquiries concerning the Perfectionists, let it be remembered that his subsequent, no less than his preceding writings, bear tes-

[x] Evelyn Papers, ined.

timony to his freedom from any error of the kind; and that his devotion, through life, appears to have continued as we have hitherto seen it, however intense, however unremitted, however (I had almost said) seraphic,—yet practical, peaceful, energetic, and orderly;—of a kind which, instead of seeking food in visions of enthusiastic rapture, or displaying itself in a fantastical adoption of new toys and instruments of theopathy, made him the better friend, the better parent, the better servant of the state, the better member and governor of that church which he had defended in her deepest adversities.

Those adversities were now drawing to an end, though Taylor could not foresee it, and, as appears from some expressions in the preceding letter, was uncertain whether the aspect of the times portended good or an increase of evil. His journey to London, however, which we have seen him already meditating, and which he again promises to his friend and himself, in the letter which stands next in the series, was as well timed for his own prospects and future advancement, as if he had really been in the secret of Monk's intentions.

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQ.

"Portmore, Feb. 10, 16$\frac{5}{6}$.

"HONOURED AND DEARE SIR,—I received yours of December 2, in very good time, but although it came to me before Christmas, yet it pleased God, about that time, to lay his gentle hand upon me; for I had beene, in the worst of our winter weather, sent for to Dublin by our late Anabaptist commissioners; and found the evil of it so great, that in my going I began to be ill: but, in my return, had my ill redoubled and fixed: but it hath pleased God to restore my health, I hope 'ad majorem Dei gloriam;' and now that I can easily write, I return you my very hearty thanks for your very obliging letter, and particularly for the inclosed. Sir; the Apology you were pleased to send me, I read both privately and heard it read publikely with no little pleasure and satisfaction. The materials are worthy, and the dress is clean, and orderly, and beautcous: and I wish that all men in the nation were obliged to read it twice: it is impossible but it must doe good to those guilty persons to whom it is not impossible to repent. Your Character hath

a great part of a worthy reward, that it is translated into a language in which it is likely to be read by very many 'beaux esprits.' But that which I promise to myself as an excellent entertainment, is your 'Elysium Britannicum[y].' But, Sir, being you intend it to the purposes of piety as well as pleasure, why doe you not rather call it Paradisus than Elysium; since the word is used by the Hellenish Jewes to signify any place of spiritual and immaterial pleasure, and excludes not the material and secular. Sir; I know you are such a 'curieux,' and withal so diligent and inquisitive, that not many things of the delicacy of learning, relating to your subject, can escape you; and, therefore, it would be great imprudence in me to offer my little mite to your already digested heape. I hope, ere long, to have the honour to waite on you, and to see some parts and steps of your progression: and then if I see I can bring any thing to your building, though but hair and stickes, I shall not be wanting in expressing my readinesse to serve and to honour you, and to promote such a worke, than which I thinke, in the world, you could not have chosen a more apt and a more ingenious.

"Sir; I do really beare a share in your feares and your sorrowes for your deare boy. I doe and shall pray to God for him; but I know not what to say in such things. If God intends, by these clouds, to convey him and you to brighter graces and more illustrious glories respectively; I dare not, with too much passion, speake against the so great good of a person that is so deare to me and a child that is so deare to you. But I hope that God will doe what is best: and I humbly beg of him to choose what is that best for you both. As soon as the weather and season of the spring gives leave, I intend, by God's permission, to returne to England: and when I come to London with the first to waite on you, for whom I have so great regard, and from whom I have received so many testimonies of a worthy friendship, and in whom I know so much worthinesse is deposited.

"I am, most faithfully and cordially,

"Your very affectionate and obliged servant,

"JER. TAYLOR[z]."

[y] Note (G.G.)

[z] Evelyn Papers, ined.

This journey to London, though probably undertaken with no further expectations than of seeing his friends, and giving the last inspection to his 'Ductor Dubitantium,' in its progress through the press,—was propitious to Taylor's advancement. His name appeared among the signatures of loyalists in London, and its vicinity, affixed to their declaration of April 24, 1660, in which they expressed the moderation of their views, and their confidence in the wisdom and justice of Monk and his government. He was thus advantageously brought under the notice of his sovereign, on his return to the throne, as a faithful adherent to monarchy and episcopacy; and had the opportunity of dedicating to him the great work, to which his best years had been devoted,—on which, of all his compositions, he had bestowed the most time and labour, the most anxiety and prayer,—and in which, of all others, he seems to have pleased himself with the idea that he was laying the foundations of his future fame, and rendering an acceptable service to the cause of morality and religion.

It may be doubted whether the manner in which it has been received has altogether answered these anticipations. With all its learning, most widely ransacked and most prodigally displayed—with all its acuteness of argument and criticism, its strong practical good sense, and its admirable moderation—the "Ductor Dubitantium" has, perhaps, been among the least read and least popular of his writings. The world have been less anxious to study than to talk of and admire it; its object, even at its first appearance, was, in some degree, accounted obsolete, and its sphere of utility limited; and, while his devotional works have found their way into every closet and every cottage, his 'opus magnum' reposes on the shelves of our libraries, in company with the neglected giants of an earlier day, the 'Summa Sententiarum,' and the writings of Duns Scotus.

How far this neglect is merited or undeserved,—how far it is inherent in the nature of his design, or incidental to the manner in which that design is executed,—a better opportunity will hereafter be afforded for inquiring. I will here only observe, that the times in which it appeared had, in themselves, a natural and inevitable tendency to rob the 'Ductor Dubitantium' of even its due share of popular notice

and favour. The country was in a state of feverish excitation, which left men little desire, and less leisure, to open folios of casuistry. Every body was agitated by the consciousness of having deserved well or ill of the restored monarch and his family; and the hopes of preferment,—the fears of persecution,—the triumph of the loyal,—and the doubts of those few who saw deeper into Charles's character, —were succeeded by a long and disgusting course of tyranny and civil dissension, and by a school of literature and composition, of all others which this country has seen the least favourable to genius, and the most unlike that style of thinking and expression which had distinguished Jeremy Taylor and his contemporaries.

After the completion of a work of such magnitude and importance, it would, with most men, have been no more than was to be expected, that they should suspend awhile the labours of composition. But the rapidity of Taylor's pen was such, that it is necessary to mark the fact, that only one more work of his appeared this year,—the "Worthy Communicant,"—accompanied by his beautiful sermon at the funeral of Sir George Dalstone. The dowager princess of Orange was at this time in England, on a visit of congratulation to her brother; and the volume is inscribed to her, in a dedication in which Taylor eulogizes not only her virtues, but those of the king, in a strain which may be forgiven to a triumphant loyalist, when speaking of a young and graceful monarch, whose dignified and prudent conduct under misfortune, and whose supposed constancy in maintaining, against all temptations, his allegiance to the Church of England, had inspired hopes of a wisdom and piety, which his subsequent conduct but too lamentably disappointed.

The merits which Taylor had to plead with the restored government, were exceeded by those of few persons in his profession. Of all the episcopal clergy, old Sanderson alone, perhaps, excepted, there was none who could compete with him in the renown of learning and genius. His character had remained unsullied by any compliance with the factious or fanatical party, during the time of their greatest triumphs. He had been the object of a more than common suspicion and severity, on the part of the usurping government; and even his polemical antagonists were in the habit

of bearing testimony to his blameless life, and the ardour of his piety. Whether his union with the king's natural sister was known or pleaded, may, perhaps, be doubted. If it were, it is possible that this circumstance may have contributed to determine the scene of his promotion; and that Charles was not unwilling to remove to a distance a person whose piety might lead him to reprove many parts of his conduct, and who would have a plausible pretence for speaking more freely than the rest of the dignified clergy.

It may be believed, however, that Taylor himself would be by no means displeased with his destination, though, in some respects, a more obscure one than, from the circumstances enumerated, he might have looked for. His family were already in Ireland, and, though the Mandinam property was now relieved from sequestration, the state of his worldly affairs can hardly have been such as to make the expense of removal desirable. To the country of his refuge he seems to have felt considerable attachment;—and the persuasions of the marquess, afterwards duke of Ormond, who was the great pillar of the episcopal cause, and who was extremely and laudably solicitous to fill the sees of his native kingdom with learning and piety, would naturally be employed both to forward the appointment and reconcile him to it. He was, accordingly, nominated, on the 6th of August, after the king's return, under the privy seal, to the bishopric of Down and Connor, and, shortly after, elected, by Ormond's recommendation, vice-chancellor of the university of Dublin[a].

These situations were very far from sinecures. In the university every thing was to be undone and begun anew, in consequence of the disorders introduced during the time of the commonwealth. The revenues had been dilapidated, and the land, in many instances, alienated. None of the members then in possession had any legal title either to scholarship or fellowship; all having been introduced by irregular elections, or by the direct interference of the usurping government. And as, by the statutes of the college, no election could be made but by the provost, and the concurring votes of at least four seniors, it was proposed by Taylor, that himself,

[a] Rot. Pat. Canc. Hibern. 2nda pars. f. 14, 15.—For this date and reference, I am obliged to the kindness of Mr. Monk Mason.

as vice-chancellor,—the archbishop of Dublin, as visitor,—and the new provost, who was appointed by the crown,—should be empowered, by their own authority, to elect seven senior fellows, who were to serve as a nucleus from which the society should again take its beginning. Ormond, however, chose to keep this appointment in his own hands, though he so far complied with the proposal as to desire the vice-chancellor and provost to recommend five persons who might, by the royal authority, be made fellows; and Taylor had, in consequence, the satisfaction of procuring a fellowship for his friend Dr. Stearne, already mentioned, (though a married man, and, therefore, not statutably eligible,) on the plea that, in so great a scarcity of able candidates, his learning, and long acquaintance with the college, made his presence absolutely necessary. In the mean time, Taylor undertook the task of collecting, arranging, revising, and completing the body of statutes which bishop Bedell had left unfinished;—in settling the form and conditions under which degrees were to be conferred;—in appointing public lectures and disputations;—and in laying the basis of the distinguished reputation which the university of Dublin has since retained, in spite of its unfortunate situation in a luxurious metropolis, and the disadvantageous competition which it has been compelled to carry on with the elder and more extensive establishments of the sister kingdom [b].

His labours in his diocese were still greater, and their result, at first, far less satisfactory, inasmuch as their scope was more extended, and the prejudices against which he had to contend were of deeper root, and involved more important interests.

It has happened almost uniformly, in cases of religious difference, that those schisms have been most bitter, if not most lasting, which have arisen on topics of dispute comparatively unimportant, and where the contending parties had, apparently, least to concede, and least to tolerate. Nor are there many instances on record which more fully and more unfortunately exemplify this general observation, than that of the quarrel and final secession of the puritan clergy

[b] Carte's Life of Ormond, vol. ii. p. 208.

from the church, in the year 1662. Both parties, in that case, were agreed on the essentials of Christianity. Both professed themselves not unwilling to keep out of sight, and mutually endure, the few doctrinal points on which a difference existed between them. The leading puritans were even disposed to submit to that episcopal government, their opposition to which, during former reigns, had created so much disturbance, and had led, by degrees, to such abundant bloodshed and anarchy. And it is no less true than strange, that this great quarrel, which divided so many holy and learned preachers of the common faith, was occasioned and perpetuated by men, who, chiefly resting their objections to the form and colour of an ecclesiastical garment, the wording of a prayer, or the injunction of kneeling at the eucharist, were willing, for questions like these, to disturb the peace of the religious world, and subject themselves to the same severities which they had previously inflicted on the episcopal clergy.

With these men, whether in England or Ireland, there were apparently only three lines of conduct for the ruling powers to follow. The first was the adoption of such a liturgy and form of church government as would, at once, satisfy the advocates of episcopacy and presbytery. This was attempted in vain; and was, indeed, a measure, the failure of which, a very slight attention to the prejudices and animosity of both parties would have enabled a bystander to anticipate. The second was that which was, at least virtually, promised by the king in the declaration of Breda; that, namely, uniformity of discipline and worship should, for the present, not be insisted on; that the Presbyterian and Independent preachers should, during their lives, be continued in the churches where they were settled; ejecting only those who had been forcibly intruded, to the prejudice of persons yet alive, and who might legally claim re-instatement; and filling up the vacancies of such as died, with ministers episcopally ordained and canonically obedient. In this case, it is possible that, as the stream of preferment and patronage would have been confined to those who conformed, as the great body of the nation were strongly attached to the liturgy, and gave a manifest preference to those churches

where it was used[c]; and as the covenanting clergy would have no longer been under the influence of that point of honour, which, when its observance was compulsory, induced them to hold out against it,—the more moderate, even of the existing generation, would have by degrees complied with their own interests and the inclination of their flocks; while the course of nature, and the increasing infirmities of age, must, in a few years, have materially diminished the numbers and influence of the more pertinacious. We have found, in fact, by experience, that the liturgy has, through its intrinsic merits, obtained, by degrees, no small degree of reverence even among those who, on other grounds or on no grounds at all, dissent from the church of England, as at present constituted. And it is possible that, by thus forbearing to press its observance on those whose minds were so ill prepared to receive it, a generation would soon have arisen, to whom their objections would have appeared in their natural weakness, and the greatest and least rational of those schisms have been prevented, which have destroyed the peace and endangered the existence of the British churches.

But, while we, at the present day, are amusing ourselves with schemes of what we should have done had we lived in the time of our fathers, it may be well, for the justification of these last, to consider how little the principles of toleration were then understood by either party; how deeply and how recently the episcopal clergy, and even the laity of the same persuasion, had suffered from the very persons who now called on them for forbearance; how ill the few measures which were really proposed, of a conciliatory nature, were met by the disingenuousness of some of the presbyterian leaders, and the absurd bigotry of others[d], and the reasonable suspicion which was thus excited, that nothing would content them but the entire proscription of the forms to which they objected. Nor can we greatly wonder, that, under such circumstances, the third and simplest course was adopted,—that, namely, of imposing afresh on all a liturgy, to which the great body of the people was ardently attached, and the disuse of which, in any particular parishes, (when the majority of congregations enjoyed it,) was likely to be

[c] Clarendon, Life, p. 137. ed. 1759. [d] Note (H.H.)

attended with abundant discontent and inconvenience. These considerations are, indeed, no apology for the fresh aggressions of which the episcopalian party were guilty; for their unseasonable though well intended alterations of the liturgy; and the hostile clauses inserted in their new act of uniformity. Far less can they extenuate the absurd wickedness of the persecution afterwards resorted to against those whom these measures had confirmed in their schism. But they may lead us to apprehend that, (though a very few concessions more would have kept such men as Baxter and Philip Henry in the church,) there would have been very many whom no concession would have satisfied; and that the offence of schism was, in a great degree, inevitable, though a different course, on the side of the victorious party, might have rendered it of less wide diffusion, and of less deep and lasting malignancy.

If a temper thus unfavourable to peace prevailed in England, there is reason to believe that in Ireland it was still more powerful. Even among the episcopalian clergy, during the continuance of their establishment, no inconsiderable leaven of puritanism had been found; and the venerable Usher himself, though, during the triumph of Calvinism, he saw reasons for altering his sentiments, gave encouragement, at an earlier period, by his example and his patronage, to these unattractive and gloomy tenets. But, by the absurd and most miserable rebellion of the Roman Catholics, begun in rashness and miscalculation by the crazy patriotism of Roger More; carried on in folly and brutal cruelty by the drunken O'Neil, and the savage rabble, whom he could neither lead nor control; and suppressed by a system of military tyranny the most perfect, the most effectual, the most wicked, and remorseless, of which Christendom affords an example; — the Protestant episcopal clergy had all been swept away from that ill-starred kingdom. Their places had been supplied by the most zealous adherents of the commonwealth and the covenant, who were supported by the majority of those who had profited during the merciless system of confiscation which Cromwell had put in practice, and by the officers and men of a numerous army, formed in his school and under his immediate auspices, whom the government could neither pay nor discharge,—and who, though

they had concurred in the restoration of the crown, were very little disposed to sanction that of the mitre.

Already these men had gained confidence by the delay which intervened between the royal designation of the new bishops to their respective sees, and their solemn consecration to the sacred office. And it is probable that, but for the zeal of Ormond, seconded by his great popularity, and by the firmness of the small majority of Irish nobility and gentry who were attached, by old recollections and a sense of recent oppression, to the institutions which Calvinism had supplanted, the hierarchy and the Common Prayer would have had a similar and a yet earlier extinction in that kingdom than in Scotland. Fortunately for good taste and rational piety, the friends of both were triumphant; and, more happily still for the national honour and prosperity, the restoration of both was effected without any of those severities towards dissenters which, in England and Scotland, disgrace the annals of Charles the Second. Yet the year 1660 passed away without any steps being taken in favour of episcopacy; and it was only on January the 27th of the following year, that two archbishops and ten bishops were consecrated by Bramhall, formerly bishop of Derry, and now primate, with great pomp and loud exultation of the loyalists, in the cathedral of St. Patrick. Of the bishops Taylor was one, and appointed to preach the sermon. Of his talents, indeed, the government in church and state seem to have been fully sensible, and naturally anxious to avail themselves, since it was he who was also called on to preach, on the 8th of May, before the two houses of Parliament, and again, before the primate, at his metropolitan visitation of Down and Connor.

Honours and preferment were now flowing fast upon him. In February he was made a member of the Irish Privy Council, and, on the 30th of April, in addition to his former diocese, was entrusted with the administration of the small adjacent one of Dromore, "on account," in the words of the writ under the privy seal, "of his virtue, wisdom, and industry*."

* Rot. Pat. 13 Car. II. 2nda pars, facie. See also Harris's Ware, p. 265.

For all these good qualities, and for patience more than all, the state of his dioceses afforded him, indeed, abundant occasion. It was in this part of Ireland, more than any other, that the clearance of the episcopalian clergy had been most effectual, and that their places had been supplied by the sturdiest champions of the covenant, taken for the most part from the west of Scotland,—disciples of Cameron, Renwick, and Peden, and professing, in the wildest and most gloomy sense, the austere principles of their party. Such men as these, more prejudiced in proportion as they were worse educated than the other adherents of Calvin, were neither to be impressed by the zeal with which the new prelate discharged the duties of his station, nor softened by the tenderness and charity expressed in his deportment towards themselves. It was in vain, so far as they were concerned, that he preached every Sunday in different churches of his diocese; that he invited his clergy to friendly conferences; that he personally called at their houses; employed the good offices of pious laymen of their own persuasion, and offered his best endeavours to give satisfaction or obtain relief for their scruples.

In answer to these advances, the pulpits resounded with exhortations to stand by the covenant even unto blood; with bitter invectives against the episcopal order, and against Taylor more particularly; while the preachers entered into a new engagement among themselves, "to speak with no bishop, and to endure neither their government nor their persons." The virtues and eloquence of Taylor, however, were not without effect on the laity, who were, at the same time, offended by the refusal of their pastors to attend a public conference. The nobility and gentry of the three dioceses, with one single exception, came over, by degrees, to the bishop's side; and we are even assured by Carte, that, during the two years which intervened before the enforcement of the Act of Uniformity, the great majority of the ministers themselves had yielded, if not to his arguments, to his persevering kindness and Christian example[f].

In the mean time, however, some traces of disappointment and irritation are, I think, perceivable in his sermon before

[f] Carte, ubi supra.

the two houses of Parliament. He there inveighs with some asperity against such as thought it a less sin to stand in separation from the church, than to stand in a clean white garment: and observes, that "we have seen the vilest part of mankind, men that have done things so horrid, worse than which the sun never saw, yet pretend tender consciences against ecclesiastical laws." He urges, forcibly and ably, that, in things indifferent or doubtful, it must be safe to follow the decision of our superiors; that, in all cases, obedience is free from those results which are the greatest aggravation of the crime of heresy, and that, therefore, in the great majority of cases, dissent is more dangerous than conformity. He presses the consideration that no laws can stand at all, if all who dislike them may plead conscience as an exemption; and he presses also, (what is easily said in the case of our brother, but what every man in his own case receives with difficulty,) that they who dislike the discipline of a church are at liberty to resign their preferments[s].

We shall do him an injustice, however, if we suppose him to hold these doctrines without qualification; without allowances for invincible prejudice, for human infirmity, and the many other considerations which must be taken into account in every reformation or return to original principles. On the contrary, he expresses a hope that, in all measures to be adopted for the government of the church, wherever "weak brethren shall still plead for toleration and compliance, the bishops would consider where it can do good and do no harm; where they are permitted, and where they are themselves tied up by the laws; and, in all things where it is safe and holy, to labour to give them ease and bring them remedy."

And there is one circumstance which it is absolutely necessary to bear in mind while forming our opinion on this part of Taylor's conduct; that, namely, the obedience which he claims, as due to the laws of ecclesiastical superiors, is that obedience only which is paid by the members of their own communion. It is, in fact, no more than the privilege (which every Christian society exerts and must exert for its own preservation), to have the offices of its ministry supplied

[s] Vol. vi. p. cccxxxi. et seq.

by such men as conform to the regulations imposed by the body at large, or those to whom its powers are delegated.

On *toleration*, properly so called, in its civil sense and on its broadest foundation, he has, in this discourse, said nothing at variance with his Liberty of Prophesying. And so far is any thing which he here advances from sanctioning those penal enactments which the jealousy of succeeding parliaments directed against the professors of other creeds, that his main argument proceeds on the supposition that sects who could not agree might charitably differ. The model, in short, of mutual forbearance, which he proposed to his countrymen, was the same with that exhibited by the ruling and notoriously tolerant churches of Geneva, Switzerland, and the Low Countries, who arranged their own internal concerns as they themselves thought most expedient, but who never attempted to disturb the liberties of those who conscientiously forsook their communion.

And if, in an orator of Taylor's principles, a more definite caution is required against the crime of religious persecution, let it be remembered, that he could not have foreseen the temper in which the work now begun was afterwards carried on and completed. The declarations of the king had hitherto breathed nothing but conciliation and indulgence to weak consciences; and, from the known principles of many of the leading characters of the Irish Parliament, the episcopalians of that nation, in particular, had no reason to apprehend that too little regard would be shown to the wishes of the puritans[b].

One subject there was, however, on which an abundant share of the Christian virtues of disinterestedness, forgiveness, justice, and compassion, was no more than necessary to guide his auditors to a right decision;—a decision in which the interests and even existence of many thousand families were implicated, and which some of the worst and strongest feelings of avarice, party spirit, and deeply rooted hostility, conspired to pervert or embarrass. I mean the question of the Irish confiscated estates, on which it is gratifying to find Taylor speaking with the discrimination of one who well understood the affairs of that king-

[b] Carte, ubi supra.

dom, no less than with that authority and earnestness which it becomes a Christian bishop to display on the side of the oppressed and unfortunate.

"Ye cannot obey God unless you do justice: for this also 'is better than sacrifice,' said Solomon. For Christ, who is the sun of righteousness, is a sun and shield to them that do righteously. The Indian was not immured sufficiently by the Atlantic sea, nor the Bosphoran by the walls of ice, nor the Arabian by his meridian sun: the Christian justice of the Roman princes brake through all enclosures, and by justice, set up Christ's standard, and gave to all the world a testimony how much could be done by prudence and valour, when they were conducted by the hands of justice: and now you will have a great trial of this part of your obedience to God.

"For you are to give sentence in the causes of half a nation: and he had need to be a wise and a good man that divides the inheritance amongst brethren; that he may not be abused by contrary pretences,—nor biassed by the interest of friends,—nor transported with the unjust thoughts even of a just revenge,—nor allured by the opportunities of spoil,—nor turned aside by partiality in his own concerns,—nor blinded by gold, which puts out the eyes of wise men,—nor cozened by pretended zeal,—nor wearied with the difficulty of questions,—nor directed by a general measure in cases not measurable by it,—nor borne down by prejudice,—nor abused by resolutions taken before the cause be heard,—nor overruled by national interests. For justice ought to be the simplest thing in the world, and is to be measured by nothing but by truth, and by laws, and by the decrees of princes. *But, whatever you do, let not the pretence of a different religion make you think it lawful to oppress any man in his just rights: for opinions are not, but laws only, and 'doing as we would be done to,' are the measures of justice: and, though justice does alike to all men, Jew and Christian, Lutheran and Calvinist; yet, to do right to them that are of another opinion is the way to win them: but if you, for conscience sake, do them wrong, they will hate both you and your religion.*

"Lastly; as 'obedience is better than sacrifice,' so God also said, 'I will have mercy and not sacrifice;' meaning,

that mercy is the best obedience. 'Perierat totum quod Deus fecerat, nisi misericordia subvenisset,' said Chrysologus: all the creatures both of heaven and earth would perish, if mercy did not relieve us all. Other good things, more or less, every man expects according to the portion of his fortune. 'Ex clementia omnes idem sperant;' but from mercy and clemency all the world alike do expect advantages. And which of us all stands here this day, that does not need God's pardon and the king's? Surely no man is so much pleased with his own innocence, as that he will be willing to quit his claim to mercy, and, if we all need it, let us all show it.

> "Naturæ imperio gemimus, cum funus adultæ
> Virginis occurrit, vel terra clauditur infans
> Et minor igne rogi!"

"If you do but see a maiden carried to her grave a little before her intended marriage, or an infant die before the birth of reason, nature has taught us to pay a tributary tear. Alas! your eyes will behold the ruin of many families, which, though they sadly have deserved, yet mercy is not delighted with the spectacle; and therefore God places a watery cloud in the eye, that, when the light of heaven shines on it, it may produce a rainbow, to be a sacrament and a memorial that God and the sons of God do not love to see a man perish. God never rejoices in the death of him that dies, and we also esteem it indecent to have music at a funeral. And, as religion teaches us to pity a condemned criminal, so mercy intercedes for the most benign interpretation of the laws. *You must, indeed, be as just as the laws: and you must be as merciful as your religion: and you have no way to tie these together, but to follow the pattern in the mount; do as God does, who in judgment remembers mercy!*"

Occupied as Taylor now was, his contributions to the press were not likely to be frequent or considerable, and, except his Consecration Sermon, his Sermon before the Parliament, and a small manual of rules for his clergy (of whom, it hence appears, he had already reconciled no inconsiderable number,) we are acquainted with no other publications of his during this year. These he mentions, more slightly than they deserve, in the following letter.

" TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

" Dublin, November 16, 1661.

" DEARE SIR, — Your owne worthinesse and the obligations you have so often pass'd upon me have imprinted in me so great a value and kindnesse to your person, that I thinke myselfe not a little concerned in yourselfe and all your relations, and all the great accidents of your life. Doe not therefore thinke me either impertinent or otherwise without employment, if I doe with some care and earnestnesse inquire into your health and the present condition of your affaires. Sir, when shal we expect your 'Terrestrial Paradise,' your excellent observations and discourses of gardens, of which I had a little posy presented to me by your owne kind hand: and makes me long for more. Sir, I and all that understand excellent fancy, language and deepest loyalty, are bound to value your excellent panegyric, which I saw and read with pleasure. I am pleased to read your excellent mind in so excellent [an] idea; for as a father in his son's face, so is a man's soule imprinted in all the pieces that he labours. Sir, I am so full of publicke concernes and the troubles of businesse in my diocese, that I cannot yet have leisure to thinke of much of my old delightful imployment. But I hope I have brought my affaires almost to a consistence, and then I may returne againe. Royston (the bookseller) hath two Sermons and a little Collection of Rules for my Clergy, which had beene presented to you if I had thought [them] fit for notice, or to send to my dearest friends.

" Dear Sir, I pray let me hear from you as often as you can, for you will very much oblige me, if you will continue to love me still. I pray give my love and deare regards to worthy Mr. Thurland: let me heare of him and his good lady, and how his son does. God blesse you and yours, him and his. I am,

" DEARE SIR,

" Your most affectionate friend,

" JEREM. DUNENSIS[1]."

[1] Evelyn Papers, ined.

This is the last letter which has been yet discovered between the two friends. I am loath to think that their correspondence terminated here, though it appears probable, from some expressions of Taylor's, that it had already begun to slacken, and that this languor had first commenced on the part of Evelyn. The latter, however, as appears from his diary, continued to regard Taylor with unmingled feelings of respect and esteem, and, when speaking, many years after, of Mary Marsh, he calls her "the daughter of his worthy and pious friend, the late bishop of Down and Connor." That friend, however, was then no more; and if we are really to account for the apparent cessation of correspondence by the supposition that an affection founded in similarity of sentiment, and cemented by benefits and prayers, though it had withstood the severest blasts of adversity, had gradually faded under the influence of long continued absence and change of circumstances and occupation; it will be only another proof how vain is that life where even our best and noblest ties are subject to dissolution and decay, and how valuable is that hope which teaches us that the love which is founded in virtue and piety shall revive again, and continue to form, in part, the happiness of an existence where neither absence nor change is to be feared!

During this year, Taylor had again experienced the hand of Providence weighing heavily on his domestic comforts. On the 10th of March, his son Edward was buried at Lisburn,—the only surviving son, as I apprehend, of his second marriage. He had found also an occasion for his pious munificence in the ruined state of his cathedral at Dromore, of which he rebuilt the choir at his own expense: his wife (not his daughter, as has been generally supposed,) contributing the communion plate[k].

During this year, too, he invited over George Rust, a Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, with a promise of conferring on him the deanery of Connor, which was expected to be shortly vacant. Rust was afterwards Taylor's successor in the see of Dromore, and preached his Funeral Sermon, a work to which we are obliged, in the paucity of other materials, for our knowledge of many

[k] Note (I.I.)

leading circumstances of his life, his fortunes, and character. It is remarkable that the preacher himself, though an eminent person in his day, and though his friend Glanvill has extolled him as a profound divine, a powerful orator, and an admirable philosopher, is now chiefly, if not altogether, recollected through his accidental connexion with the more illustrious memory of his predecessor.

Of Taylor's domestic concerns, at this time, little more is known than that he continued to occupy his favourite retirement of Portmore, where he had a house and farm, and lived in intimate friendship with the family of Lord Conway. For our knowledge even of these particulars, which are, however, confirmed by the fact that his son Edward was buried at Lisburn, we are indebted to two strange stories in that strange book the "Sadducismus Triumphatus," of Glanvill, edited and enlarged by More, which, (though its ravenous credulity and ghostly frontis-pieces may, at present, be thought only proper to alarm a nursery,) displays in some of its arguments much of that singular Platonic learning by which its author and editor were distinguished, and has, undoubtedly, adduced some evidences of apparitions which it is easier to ridicule than to disprove.

One of these was a spirit, supposed, on Michaelmas-day in the year 1662, to appear to one Francis Taverner, "a lusty, proper, stout fellow, then servant at large, afterwards porter, to the Lord Chichester, Earl of Donegal," near Drumbridge, in the county of Antrim, and in Taylor's diocese of Connor. The object of the ghost's return to earth, which he should seem to have effected in a respectable grazierly style, on horseback, and in a white coat,—was to recover for his orphan boy a lease of which his widow and her second husband had wronged him. Taylor, who was then holding his visitation at Dromore, appears to have been desired to examine Taverner respecting what he had seen and heard; and is said by the narrator of the story, a certain Mr. Alcock, his secretary, to have been satisfied as to the truth of the narration. On a second meeting, however, with Taverner, at Lord Donegal's house, and in company with "my Lady Conway and other persons of quality,"—he furnished Taverner with a string of interrogatories which he

was to propose to the spirit on its next appearance, which sufficiently prove he was little inclined to "take the ghost's word for a thousand pounds."

The attention, however, attracted by Taverner's story, was sufficient, the following year, to make one David Hunter, the bishop's own neat-herd, commence ghost-seer in his turn, and leave his bed every night, for three quarters of a year, to follow, though sorely against his will, the spirit of an old woman through the neighbouring woods, till at length, he had the courage to speak to her. Good Lady Conway was convinced of his being really under no delusion, but it does not appear that Taylor paid any attention to his story. The narrative, however, is, on all accounts, curious, and not the less so as proving the fact of the bishop's residence and farm at Portmore.

On the questions proposed to Taverner's aerial visitant, some bitter criticisms appear in the "Illustrious Providences" of Increase Mather, printed at Boston, 168½, p. 225. The present generation will pass a milder censure on him. What Taylor's sentiments were on the general question of departed spirits re-appearing, may be learned from the manner in which he treats the apparitions alleged by the Romish priests in behalf of the doctrine of purgatory,—after instancing some of which in a strain of powerful sarcasm, he goes on to say that,

"Against this way of proceeding we think fit to admonish the people of our charges, that, besides that the Scriptures expressly forbid us to inquire of the dead for truth; the holy doctors of the church, particularly Tertullian, St. Athanasius, St. Chrysostom, Isidor, and Theophylact, deny that the souls of the dead ever do appear; and bring many reasons to prove that it is unfitting they should; saying, if they did, it would be the cause of many errors, and the devils, under that pretence, might easily abuse the world with notices and revelations of their own; and because Christ would have us content with Moses and the prophets, and especially, to 'hear that prophet whom the Lord our God hath raised up' amongst us, our blessed Jesus, who never taught any such doctrine to his church[1]."

[1] Dissuasive from Popery, vol. x. p. 152. Note (J.J.)

He had, as we have seen, complained to Evelyn of the interruptions which his present duties offered to his more beloved studies; and, in 1662, nothing of his composition issued from the press but the "Via Intelligentiæ," a sermon preached before the university of Dublin, on the same plan (he tells us), and following the same ideas, though in different words, with that which he had preached, but not published, the year before, at the archiepiscopal visitation. Its purport is, in a great measure, the same which he had partly insisted on in his Liberty of Prophesying,—that the likeliest way to avoid all religious errors, and the only and certain way to prevent our errors from being damnable, is to apply ourselves to the practice of holiness, piety, and charity, and to the teaching of that Holy Spirit, whose aid, in all things essential to salvation, will never be wanting to the sincere, the humble, and the pure. There are some expressions in this discourse which have been too hastily interpreted into an abandonment, or at least a qualification, of the large notions of religious liberty which, in his Θεολογια ἐκλεκτικη, he had so powerfully supported. A comparison of the corresponding passages in each will, however, clear him from this imputation, and prove that, in admitting the legality of any coercion in such matters, he only means, what he had never denied, that if the consequences of the opinion are injurious to the peace of society, it may, accidentally, become a question of policy, how far the publication of the opinion should be allowed. Thus, in his Liberty of Prophesying, he had explicitly admitted, that, "if either the teachers of an opinion themselves, or their doctrine, do really, and without colour or feigned pretext, disturb the public peace and just interests, they are not to be suffered[a]." And this is all which he can be fairly said to allow in his present sermon, when, after saying, what is most true, that the object of toleration is, in the first instance, not truth, but peace, he urges, that when "by opinions men rifle the affairs of kingdoms, it is also as certain, they ought not to be made public and permitted[b]." I do not say that such an admission, unless restricted within narrow

[a] Lib. of Proph. vol. viii. p. 145.

[b] Sermon before the Univ. of Dublin, vol. vi. p. 378.

bounds, and guarded with greater precision than, either here or in the Liberty of Prophesying, Taylor has employed, may not be dangerous to the principles which he has elsewhere, with such admirable ability, supported. A better opportunity will, ere long, present itself, of examining the extent and clearness of his views on this most interesting subject. But it is of consequence to his moral, no less than his philosophical character, to show that his opinions were the same at different periods of his life, and under very different circumstances. And it is perfectly apparent, from the general tenour and tendency of the discourse of which I am speaking, that he was as tolerant as ever of religious differences, simply taken. Nor am I acquainted with any composition of human eloquence which is more deeply imbued with a spirit of practical holiness,—which more powerfully attracts the attention of men from the subtilties of theology to the duties and charities of religion,—or which evinces a more lofty disdain of those trifling subjects of dispute which, then or since, have divided the Protestant churches.

"The way," he tells us, "to judge of religion, is by doing of our duty: and theology is rather a divine life than a divine knowledge. In heaven, indeed, we must first see, and then love; but here, on earth, we must first love, and love will open our eyes as well as our hearts; and we shall then see, and perceive, and understand."

In pursuance of this train of thought, he goes on to show how strangely vice and self-interest have power to clog and hebetate the understanding; how necessary is the aid of God's Spirit to direct the will aright; and how much that spiritual assistance which is really and ordinarily promised in Scripture, differs from the new revelations, the visions and the ecstasies, which fanatics, both in the Roman and Protestant churches, have expected or pretended to. He describes the Holy Ghost as a Spirit who "does not spend his holy influences in disguises and convulsions of the understanding;" who "does not destroy reason, but heightens it;" who "goes in company with his own ordinances, and makes progressions by the measures of life; his infusions are just as our acquisitions, and his graces pursue the methods of nature: that which was imperfect, he

leads on to perfection; and that which was weak, he makes strong: he opens the heart, not to receive murmurs, or to attend to secret whispers, but to hear the word of God; and then he opens the heart, and creates a new one; and without this new creation, this new principle of life, we may hear the word of God, but we can never understand it; we hear the sound, but we are never the better; unless there be in our hearts a secret conviction by the Spirit of God, the Gospel itself is a dead letter, and worketh not in us the light and righteousness of God."

After enlarging, in a strain of exalted eloquence and poetry, on the internal privileges of the truly good and sanctified by the communion of God's Spirit, he explains the knowledge which a holy man possesses of the mysteries of religion, compared with that of a more learned but worldly professor of Christianity, as excelling the latter in the same way that experience excels theory, and practice speculation. "What learning is it to discourse of the philosophy of the sacrament, if you do not feel the virtue of it? and the man that can with eloquence and subtilty discourse of the instrumental efficacy of baptismal waters, talks ignorantly in respect of him, who hath the answer of a good conscience within, and is cleansed by the purifications of the Spirit. If the question concern any thing that can perfect a man and make him happy, all that is the proper knowledge and notice of the good man. How can a wicked man understand the purities of the heart? and how can an evil and unworthy communicant tell what it is to have received Christ by faith, to dwell with him, to be united to him, to receive him in his heart? The good man only understands that: the one sees the colour, and the other feels the substance; the one discourses of the sacrament, and the other receives Christ; the one discourses for or against transubstantiation, but the good man feels himself to be changed, and so joined to Christ, that he only understands the true sense of transubstantiation, while he becomes to Christ bone of his bone, flesh of his flesh, and of the same spirit with his Lord. 'The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things.' Well: there is our teacher told of plainly; but how shall we obtain this teacher, and how shall we be taught? Christ will pray

for us, that we may have this spirit. That is well: but shall all Christians have the Spirit? Yes, all that will live like Christians; for so said Christ,—'If ye love me, keep my commandments; and I will pray the Father, and he will give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever.' Mark these things. The Spirit of God is to be our teacher; he will abide with us for ever to be our teacher; he will teach us all things; but how? If ye love Christ, if ye keep his commandments, but not else: if ye be of the world, that is, of worldly affections, ye cannot see him, ye cannot know him."

After applying the test of conformity to God's commandments to the spirit in which the religious disputes of his time had chiefly been carried on, and the doctrines which had been insisted on;—after observing, that "he that shall maintain it to be lawful to make a war for the defence of his opinion, be it what it will, his doctrine is against godliness;" that he who, "for the garments and outsides of religion," neglects the duty of obedience to his superiors, "is a man of fancy and of the world," rather than of God and the Spirit; and that "that is no good religion that disturbs governments, or shakes the foundation of public peace;"—he closes his discourse with an exhortation to those who were his immediate auditors, which they can hardly have heard without their hearts burning within them.

"To you, fathers and brethren,—you, who are, or intend to be, of the clergy; you see here the best compendium of your studies, the best abbreviature of your labours, the truest method of wisdom, and the infallible, the only way of judging concerning the disputes and questions in Christendom. It is not by reading multitudes of books, but by studying the truth of God: it is not by laborious commentaries of the doctors that you can finish your work, but by the expositions of the Spirit of God: it is not by the rules of metaphysics, but by the proportions of holiness: and, when all books are read, and all arguments examined, and all authorities alleged, nothing can be found to be true that is unholy. 'Give yourselves to reading, to exhortation, and to doctrine,' saith St. Paul. Read all good books you can; but exhortation unto good life is the

best instrument, and the best teacher of true doctrine, of that which is according to godliness.

"And let me tell you this: the great learning of the fathers was more owing to their piety than to their skill; more to God than to themselves: and to this purpose is that excellent ejaculation of St. Chrysostom, with which I will conclude: 'O blessed and happy men, whose names are in the book of life, from whom the devils fled, and heretics did fear them, who (by holiness) have stopped the mouths of them that spake perverse things! But I, like David, will cry out, Where are thy loving-kindnesses which have been even of old? Where is the blessed quire of bishops and doctors, who shined like lights in the world, and contained the word of life? 'Dulce est meminisse;' their very memory is pleasant. Where is that Evodias, the sweet savour of the church, the successor and imitator of the holy apostles? Where is Ignatius, in whom God dwelt? Where is St. Dionysius, the Areopagite, that bird of Paradise, that celestial eagle? Where is Hippolytus, that good man, ἀνὴρ χρηστὸς, that gentle sweet person? Where is great St. Basil, a man almost equal to the apostles? Where is Athanasius, rich in virtue? Where is Gregory Nyssen, that great divine? And Ephrem, the great Syrian, that stirred up the sluggish, and awakened the sleepers, and comforted the afflicted, and brought the young men to discipline; the looking-glass of the religious, the captain of the penitents, the destruction of heresies, the receptacle of graces, the habitation of the Holy Ghost?'—These were the men that prevailed against error, because they lived according to truth; and whoever shall oppose you, and the truth you walk by, may better be confuted by your lives than by your disputations. Let your adversaries have no evil thing to say of you, and then you will best silence them: for all heresies and false doctrines are but like Myron's counterfeit cow, it deceived none but beasts; and these can cozen none but the wicked and the negligent, them that love a lie, and live according to it. But, if ye become burning and shining lights; if ye do not detain the truth in unrighteousness; if ye walk in light and live in the Spirit; your doctrines will be true, and that truth will prevail. But if ye live wickedly and scandalously, every little schismatic shall put you to

shame, and draw disciples after him, and abuse your flocks, and feed them with colocynths and hemlock, and place heresy in the chairs appointed for your religion.

"I pray God give you all grace to follow this wisdom, to study this learning, to labour for the understanding of godliness; so your time and your studies, your persons and your labours, will be holy and useful, sanctified and blessed, beneficial to men, and pleasing to God, through him who is the wisdom of the Father, who is made to all them that love him wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption."

In 1663, Taylor published his Χρισις Τελειωτικη, "a Defence and Introduction to the Rite of Confirmation," dedicated to the duke of Ormond;—three Sermons, preached at Christ Church, Dublin;—and a Funeral Sermon on the Primate Bramhall, full of curious information concerning the secret history of the times, and the pains which had been taken, with more success than was then generally known or apprehended, to pervert the exiled king from the faith of his countrymen. He was now also busied on the last considerable work which he lived to publish,—his "Dissuasive from Popery,"—which appeared in 1664.

This task he had undertaken by desire of the collective body of Irish bishops; and their injunctions, and the obvious necessity of the measure, he represents as his only motives for again embarking in so troublous a sea, notwithstanding his great and increasing aversion to that and every other controversy. It was difficult, however, for any good man to survey the follies and idolatries of popery, as they subsisted around him in their most revolting forms, without being anxious, by every means in his power, to abate the evil, or prevent its farther diffusion.

No part, indeed, of the administration of Ireland by the English crown, has been more extraordinary and more unfortunate, than the system pursued for the introduction of the reformed religion. Instead of sending, in the first instance, missionaries well skilled in their native tongue to convince the inhabitants of the errors of their ancient faith, and conciliate them to a reception of the new, the churches were filled with English preachers, whose nation made them unpopular, and whose ignorance of the language which only

their parishioners could speak or understand with readiness, prevented all extensive benefit from their zeal, however warm, and their abilities, however considerable. It was not even thought necessary to furnish them with a translation either of the liturgy or the Scriptures; though, by a refinement in absurdity, they were to be compelled by a fine (which, indeed, was rarely enforced,) to attendance on a church service, which was still more unintelligible to them than their ancient mass book, without having the same early associations to recommend it to them. Accordingly, while Wales, from an opposite line of treatment, received the doctrines of the Reformation with avidity, and, at an early period, was become almost exclusively Protestant;—while the Norman Isles have ever since been amongst the most faithful adherents of the episcopal church, from the advantage of French preachers and a French service book,—Ireland, with a people above most others docile and susceptible of new impressions, has remained, through a great majority of her population, in the profession of a creed discountenanced by the state, and under the dominion of prejudices which, even to the present moment, no effectual measures have been taken to remove. A few unconnected, though zealous, and, so far as they went, successful efforts to remove this ignorance, were made by such men as Usher and the excellent bishop Bedell, and afterwards by Mr. Boyle. But government, which ought to have given the first impulse, was bent on a narrow and illiberal policy of supplanting the Irish by the English language, to which the present moral and religious instruction of millions was to give way, and which, though it has in part succeeded, (through circumstances of which the march was altogether independent of the measures taken to forward it,) has left a division of the national heart, far worse than that of the tongue, and perpetuated prejudices, which might at first have been easily removed or softened. Even now, though the liturgy has been translated, and though there are many parishes where English is almost unknown,—throughout Ireland, if I am rightly informed, no public prayers are offered up in the ancient language; and though a version of the Scriptures has long existed, it is only within the few

last years that any attempts have been made to circulate them among the poor.

It was, indeed, the misfortune of Ireland, and one which materially prevented the application of any active means for the conversion of her natives to a pure mode of faith and worship, that among the English clergy, who were the first heralds of Protestantism to her shores, a large proportion were favourers of the peculiar system of Calvin;—a system, of all others, the least attractive to the feelings of a Roman Catholic; and the professors of which, as they looked on their brethren of the church of England as themselves little better than idolaters, have generally been more inclined to spend their zeal in a disturbance of the internal peace of their own communion, than in an energetic extension of the general principles of Protestantism among those who are without its pale. In England, during the reign of king Edward, when the great impression was, in fact, given to the public mind in favour of the monarch's creed, the points of difference which afterwards arose among its supporters were happily unknown, or wisely suppressed; and the transition in the external forms of worship was so small, and the changes which struck the common people most were all so obviously for the better, that even the ministers of the old religion had no good plea for withdrawing themselves from the church, and the body kept its ancient shape and substance, though its deformities were removed, and new blood infused throughout the system. To the Irish, Protestantism presented itself as a system on which its own members were not agreed; and, of Protestants, that party which for a time gained the victory was precisely that one whose rites and doctrines were most at variance with all to which the Irish had been accustomed, and whose professors regarded the Irish Roman Catholic with most contempt and abhorrence. The unhappy rebellion of More and O'Nial, in 1641, loaded as the memory of its instigators must ever remain with the stain of folly, blood-guiltiness, and cruelty, was accelerated, no doubt, if not occasioned, by the oppression of Sir William Parsons, and the other heads of the puritan faction; by a dread of those severities, the not inflicting of which on the Papists, the Calvinists, both in Ireland and England, made

a leading charge against their sovereign, and by the interruption, through the influence of the same rising party, of the wise and benevolent, though vigorous policy, introduced in Ireland under the Stuart dynasty*.

On the consequences of that rebellion,—consequences even at the present day most deeply and injuriously felt by the church of Ireland and her national prosperity,—this is not the place to enlarge. It is only necessary to observe, that during Taylor's life, and at the time of which I am speaking, they existed in all their greatest and most recent deformity; and that, more particularly, the maintenance of the ancient religion was, with the original Irish, a bond of union and mutual support,—a guarantee to their political existence,—a title to their alienated possessions,—and a pledge of their future vengeance on those by whom they had been despoiled. And, while the more educated classes of society had these cogent reasons for listening with reluctance to any thing which might be urged against the faith of their ancestors, the understandings and consciences of the illiterate peasantry were in the keeping of those who had still stronger motives of prejudice and interest to retain them in the old superstition. "The Roman religion," as Taylor himself observes, "is here amongst us a faction, and a state party, and design to recover their old laws and barbarous manner of living,—a device to enable them to dwell alone, and to be 'populus unius labii,' a people of one language and unmingled with others. And if this be religion, it is such an one as ought to be reproved by all the severities of reason and religion, lest the people perish, and their souls be cheaply given away to them that make merchandise of souls, who were the purchase and price of Christ's blood!"

Such obstacles as these a learned treatise on the errors of popery was not very likely to batter down, and the author himself appears to have been extremely far from anticipating any immediate or extensive success of his labours. "Having given," are his words, "this sad account, why it was necessary that my lords the bishops should take care to do what they have done in this affair, and why I did consent to be engaged in this controversy, otherwise than I love to be;

* Carte's Life of Ormond, vol. i. p. 158.

and since it is not a love of trouble and contention, but charity to the souls of the poor deluded Irish; there is nothing remaining, but that we humbly desire of God to accept and to bless this well-meant labour of love; and that, by some admirable ways of his providence, he will be pleased to convey to them the notices of their danger and their sin, and to deobstruct the passages of necessary truth to them; for we know the arts of their guides, and that it will be very hard that the notice of these things shall ever be suffered to arrive to the common people, but that which hinders will hinder, until it be taken away: however, we believe and hope in God for remedy [p]."

The remedy may, at first sight, appear to have been more in the power of Taylor and his brethren than they were themselves, perhaps, aware of. If the Roman Catholics, as he had previously complained in this same preface, were so studiously kept back by their spiritual guides from acquiring a knowledge of English, it was, surely, a very obvious measure for the preachers of the true faith to inform themselves in the ancient Irish. It was a course which Bedell had already tried with success, to introduce, as far as possible, the Scriptures and the liturgy in that language into the churches; and to promote to the care of parishes, in preference to all others, such ministers as were able to cope with the friars on their own ground, and enable the peasants to hear the Gospel, every man in his own tongue wherein he was born.

Had such a system even then been adopted, it is impossible to suppose that much good might not have been effected; and this very discourse of Taylor's, though too long and too learned to penetrate among the mountains and into the cottages; yet, as furnishing the agents in the work of conversion with arguments adapted alike to the ignorant and the learned; with zeal increased in proportion to their own knowledge of the importance of the truths which they conveyed; and with that celestial armoury of spiritual weapons which his admirable knowledge of Scripture has supplied,—might have itself been a source of light to thousands; a means, in God's hand, of drying up the waters of bitterness,

[p] Preface to "Dissuasive from Popery," vol. x. p. cxxv.

and removing the greatest obstacle which has existed to the peace and prosperity of the empire.

What peculiar *hinderances* they were to which he alludes, (and it is but reasonable as well as charitable to believe that some such intervened to prevent the adoption of a plan so apparently obvious,) whether they were confined to Taylor's own diocese, or arose from the general state of the country and the neglect or impolicy of its government, it is now by no means easy to determine. The restoration of the Protestant episcopal church seems to have been a juncture peculiarly favourable for such exertions as I have mentioned; and it is difficult to suppose that forms so like their own, and doctrines so conformable to reason, would have produced a less effect on the minds of the Irish, than has since been done by the preaching of the wildest and most ignorant sectaries.

But, for the neglect or the oversight, if such existed, it was not Taylor who was chiefly answerable. He was one of many, and in rank not among the most eminent; and he was already sinking under the burthen, not of years, but of a constitution broken with study and adversity[q], and which was still more effectually crushed by severe domestic affliction.

Of the second marriage, as we have already seen, one son only, Edward, had escaped the small-pox, and him he had buried at Lisburn. Of his two first, according to lady Wray, two sons survived. The eldest of these, whom she calls "her uncle Edward," though, as I conceive, mistakenly, was a captain of horse in the king's service, and fell in a duel with a brother-officer of the name of Vane, who also died of his wounds. The second, Charles, was intended for the church, and remained, till of standing for his degree of Master of Arts, at Trinity College, Dublin. His views of life, however, and, as it should seem, his conduct, did not correspond with his father's hopes and example: and he became the favourite companion, and at length the secretary, of Villiers, duke of Buckingham. He died of a decline, at the house of his patron at Baynard's Castle, and was buried in St. Margaret's church, Westminster, August 2, 1667[r]. The bishop himself, who had, as may be well believed, and

[q] Note (KK.)

[r] Note (LL.)

as his grand-daughter assures us, nearly sunk under the loss of his eldest son, and its unfortunate circumstances, can hardly have heard of this second blow before his own release. He was attacked by a fever, on the 3d of August in the same year, at Lisburn, where he appears, during the latter part of his life, to have often occasionally resided; and died, after a ten days' sickness, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the seventh of his episcopacy.

His remains were removed to Dromore, to the church of which place he had been a liberal benefactor. Dr. Rust, his friend, and his successor in that see, preached a funeral sermon, which, in itself, is no bad copy of Taylor's peculiar style of eloquence, and is well calculated to show the veneration in which he was held, the sweetness of his temper, and the variety of his accomplishments. No monument, however, was erected to his memory, and about a century afterwards, his bones, and those of his friend Rust, were disturbed from their vault to make room for the coffin of another bishop[*]. The late venerable bishop Percy had them carefully collected and replaced. That their repose was ever violated, or that they were suffered to lie neglected so long, is not to be recorded without indignation.

At the time of his death he had already sent to the press the "Second Part" of his "Dissuasive from Popery," being, in a great measure, an answer to "Sure Footing in Christianity," a work by John Serjeant, a Romish priest, who, in one of his appendices, had attacked some of Taylor's former positions. He had also written a "Discourse on Christian Consolation," which was published in 1671, and was followed, in 1684, by "Contemplations on the State of Man," a work which is marked as his on unquestionable authority, though it has the appearance of an unfinished production, and is by no means equal to the general style of his compositions.

His widow survived him many years, but the place and time of her death is unknown. He left three daughters, of whom the eldest, Phœbe, died unmarried. The second, Mary, was the wife of Doctor Francis Marsh, successively dean of Connor and Armagh, bishop of Limerick and Kilmore, and archbishop of Dublin; whose descendants, of the same name,

[*] Mr. Jones's MSS.

are numerous and wealthy. She is mentioned by Evelyn, who once met her, with her husband, at a meeting of the Royal Society, as a woman of abilities and attainments above the usual standard. The third, Joanna[t], was married to Edward Harrison, of Maralave, esquire, member during many successive parliaments for the borough of Lisburn, whose daughter, already mentioned, married Sir Cecil Wray, and from whom was lineally descended William Todd Jones, of Homra, esquire, to whose MS. remains the present work is so materially indebted. A further account of these different branches will be found in the Notes[u].

The comeliness of Taylor's person has been often noticed, and he himself appears to have been not insensible of it. Few authors have so frequently introduced their own portraits, in different characters and attitudes, as ornaments to their printed works. So far as we may judge from these, he appears to have been above the middle size, strongly and handsomely proportioned, with his hair long and gracefully curling on his cheeks, large dark eyes, full of sweetness, an aquiline nose, and an open and intelligent countenance. He was thus represented in an original picture, once in the possession of the Marsh family, but unfortunately lost by his great grandson Jeremy Marsh, together with other property, in a dangerous ford which it was necessary to pass in removing to a fresh place of residence[x]. It is from a copy of this painting, still in the possession of Mrs. Digby, that the engraving is taken which is prefixed to Mr. Bonney's volume. I suspect, however, that, in this copy, a liberty has been taken in altering the dress of the original; inasmuch as the face is younger than is consistent with the age at which he became qualified to wear the episcopal robes. And it is remarkable that, in no instance, do any of the engravings made during his lifetime represent him in the chimara and rochet. Another portrait, whose claims to originality are, I believe, undoubted, was presented by Mrs. Wray, of Anne's Vale, near Rosstrevor, to All Souls' College, displaying the same features and style of countenance, but at a more advanced period of life, and marked with a cast of melancholy which it is not difficult

[t] Note (MM.) [u] Note (NN.) [x] Bonney, MS. note.

to account for from the domestic afflictions of his latter years. This is the likeness which is given with the present work, and I gladly take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to the admirable pencil of my friend, the Honourable Heneage Legge, who made a drawing of it for the use of the engraver. Of Joanna Taylor also, there is a portrait in the possession of Mrs. Wray, representing a fine woman with a pleasing oval countenance, and naked hands and arms of much beauty,—standing in an arbour, and suspending a branch of laurel over a bust of Charles the First, which is placed beside her. These, with the watch which Taylor received from his unfortunate sovereign, and which is still preserved by the Marsh family, are, so far as I have discovered, the only relics remaining of this great and good man, and the person most closely united to him by alliance and affection[y].

Of Taylor's domestic habits and private character much is not known, but all which is known is amiable. "Love," as well as "admiration," is said to have "waited on him," in Oxford. In Wales, and amid the mutual irritation and violence of civil and religious hostility, we find him conciliating, when a prisoner, the favour of his keepers, at the same time that he preserved, undiminished, the confidence and esteem of his own party. Laud, in the height of his power and full-blown dignity; Charles, in his deepest reverses; Hatton, Vaughan, and Conway, amid the tumults of civil war; and Evelyn, in the tranquillity of his elegant retirement; seem alike to have cherished his friendship, and coveted his society. The same genius which extorted the commendation of Jeanes, for the variety of its research and vigour of its argument, was also an object of interest and affection with the young, and rich, and beautiful Katharine Philips; and few writers, who have expressed their opinions so strongly, and, sometimes, so unguardedly as he has done, have lived and died with so much praise and so little censure. Much of this felicity may be probably referred to an engaging appearance and a pleasing manner; but its cause must be sought, in a still greater degree, in the evident kindliness of heart, which, if the uniform tenour of a man's

[y] Note (OO.)

writings is any index to his character, must have distinguished him from most men living: in a temper, to all appearance warm, but easily conciliated; and in that which, as it is one of the least common, is of all dispositions the most attractive, not merely a neglect, but a total forgetfulness of all selfish feeling. It is this, indeed, which seems to have constituted the most striking feature of his character. Other men have been, to judge from their writings and their lives, to all appearance, as religious, as regular in their devotions, as diligent in the performance of all which the laws of God or man require from us; but with Taylor his duty seems to have been a delight, his piety a passion. His faith was the more vivid in proportion as his fancy was more intensely vigorous; with him the objects of his hope and reverence were scarcely unseen or future; his imagination daily conducted him to "diet with gods," and elevated him to the same height above the world, and the same nearness to ineffable things, which Milton ascribes to his allegorical "cherub Contemplation."

With a mind less accurately disciplined in the trammels and harness of the schools—less deeply imbued with ancient learning—less uniformly accustomed to compare his notions with the dictates of elder saints and sages, and submit his novelties to the authority and censure of his superiors—such ardour of fancy might have led him into dangerous errors; or have estranged him too far from the active duties, the practical wisdom of life, and its dull and painful realities: and, on the other hand, his logic and learning—his veneration for antiquity and precedent—and his monastic notions of obedience in matters of faith as well as doctrine—might have fettered the energies of a less ardent mind, and weighed him down into an intolerant opposer of all unaccustomed truths, and, in his own practice, a superstitious formalist. Happily, however, for himself and the world, Taylor was neither an enthusiast nor a bigot: and, if there are some few of his doctrines from which our assent is withheld by the decisions of the church and the language of Scripture,—even these (while in themselves they are almost altogether speculative, and such as could exercise no injurious influence on the essentials of faith or the obligations to holiness,) may be said to have a leaning to the side of piety, and to have their founda-

tion in a love for the Deity, and a desire to vindicate his goodness, no less than to excite mankind to aspire after greater degrees of perfection.

His munificent charity was in part shown by his undertaking, at his own expense, the rebuilding of his cathedral. It is also warmly praised by Rust, who tells us that, when the great preferments which he enjoyed were compared with the small portions which he left to his daughters, charity would be proved to have been the principal steward of his revenues. Yet, his daughters married wealthy husbands, and his widow seems to have been well provided for. During the latter part of his life he was engaged in a law-suit, together with his friend lord Conway, against colonel Moses Hill, one of Cromwell's officers, which might have eventually greatly lessened his means; but it seems, from the journals of the Irish House of Lords, to have been abandoned by his opponent. His ecclesiastical revenues, therefore, were certainly great; and the estate of Mandinam, which his wife retained for her life, was, of itself, sufficient to keep her above poverty [a].

In conformity with the same simple and disinterested character which I have ascribed to him, we find him at one time contributing his endeavours to frame a grammar for children, at another composing prayers and hymns for the young and uninstructed. "If," were his words on one occasion, "you do not choose to fill your boy's head with something, believe me the devil will [a]!" The same temper seems to have made him affable and facetious with his inferiors in rank and knowledge. "It was pleasant," says his secretary Alcock, "to hear my lord talk with these poor people, the friends of Haddock, on the subject of their relation's spectre [b]." On the whole, we have abundant reason for regret, that so little can now be recovered of the private life and daily conversation of one who was so accomplished and so much beloved, that we cannot believe him to have been otherwise than most amiable. The "family book," and the papers and letters preserved by his descendants, might have told us much. But these have, to all appearances, perished; and the admirers of Jeremy Taylor must be content to form

[a] Note (PP.)
[b] Glanville, p. 250.
[a] Seward's Anecdotes, vol. ii. p. 45.

their opinion of him almost exclusively from a knowledge of his writings.

Of those writings some further account is yet to be given; in which it may be convenient to consider them in the same order which has been adopted in the present edition, and as arranging themselves naturally, according to the subjects on which they treat, into the different descriptions of Practical, Theological, Casuistic, and Devotional. To the first of these classes may be referred, "The Life of Christ;" the "Contemplations on the State of Man;" the "Holy Living and Holy Dying;" the "Sermons," and the posthumous work on "Christian Consolation," which will be found in this volume. The second will comprise the series beginning with his "Episcopacy asserted," and ending with his "Dissuasive from Popery." Under the third head may be classed the "Discourse on Friendship," and "Ductor Dubitantium;" while the last contains all which instrumentally or directly refer to devotional exercises; his "Divine Institution of the Office Ministerial;" his "Rules and Advices for the Clergy;" his "Golden Grove," and the other tracts which will be found in the last volume. It is true that, in the best and highest sense of the term, all Taylor's works are theological; most of them are distinguished by an acute and discriminating application of general principles to particular cases and persons; and there is none where he does not occasionally escape from the thorns and thistles of controversial questions, to those practical lessons of holiness, and those aspirations of heaven-directed feeling, which are the pervading and peculiar characteristics of his genius. Still, however, there are some of his works less practical and less devotional than others; and, of those which professedly belong to these classes, there are some where the attention is chiefly drawn to the duties of the closet or the temple, and others where he expatiates through a wider range of holiness, and discusses with the same fervour, but with more diffuseness, the obligations, the duties, the charities, and the faith of Christians.

Such is the Life of Christ, or "Great Exemplar,"—a work undertaken, as he himself tells us in his Dedication to lord Hatton, with an intention of withdrawing the thoughts

of men from controverted and less important doctrines, to the great and necessary rallying points of Christianity, and those duties and charities on which all men are agreed, but which all men forget so easily.

"In pursuance," he says, "of this consideration, I have chosen to serve the purposes of religion, by doing assistance to that part of theology which is wholly practical, that which makes us wiser, therefore, because it makes us better. And truly, my lord, it is enough to weary the spirit of a disputer, that he shall argue till he hath lost his voice, and his time, and sometimes the question too; and yet no man shall be of his mind more than was before. How few turn Lutherans, or Calvinists, or Roman Catholics, from the religion either of their country or interest! Possibly two or three weak or interested, fantastic and easy, prejudicate and effeminate understandings, pass from church to church, upon grounds as weak as those from which formerly they did dissent; and the same arguments are good or bad, as exterior accidents or interior appetites shall determine. I deny not but, for great causes, some opinions are to be quitted: but when I consider how few do forsake any, and, when any do, oftentimes they choose the wrong side, and they that take the righter do it so by contingency, and the advantage also is so little, I believe that the triumphant persons have but small reason to please themselves in gaining proselytes, since their purchase is so small, and as inconsiderable to their triumph as it is unprofitable to them, who change for the worse or the better upon unworthy motives. In all this there is nothing certain, nothing noble. But he that follows the work of God, that is, labours to gain souls, not to a sect and a subdivision, but to the Christian religion, that is, to the faith and obedience of the Lord Jesus, hath a promise to be assisted and rewarded,—and all those that go to heaven are the purchase of such undertakings, the fruit of such culture and labours; for it is only a holy life that lands us there.

"And now, my lord, I have told you my reasons, I shall not be ashamed to say, that I am weary and toiled with rowing up and down in the seas of questions, which the interests of Christendom have commenced, and, in many propositions of which I am heartily persuaded, I am not

certain that I am not deceived; and I find that men are most confident of those articles which they can so little prove that they never made questions of them. But I am most certain that, by living in the religion and fear of God, in obedience to the king, in the charities and duties of communion with my spiritual guides, in justice and love with all the world in their several proportions, I shall not fail of that end which is perfection of human nature, and which will never be obtained by disputing[e]."

The work thus introduced and inscribed, is, as it professes to be, of a nature entirely practical. It discusses no doctrines but those on which almost all Christians are agreed, and which necessarily are suggested by the principal events of our Saviour's history. It enters into no critical examination of facts or dates, of evidences or various readings. The author does not exercise his learning and discrimination, in explaining those peculiarities of ancient or local history and manners which, as they are little less than absolutely necessary to a competent understanding of writers like those of the New Testament, so no author of the present day would omit them in a history of our Saviour. He does not even distinguish between those facts which are recorded by the inspired historians themselves, and those which repose on uncertain tradition, or on the mere presumptions of the ancient fathers; but relates, with almost the same apparent faith, the salutation of the angel to the Virgin Mary; the Syriac prayer attributed to Christ at his baptism by St. Philoxenes; and the prostration of the Egyptian idols, when the infant Jesus came into their country.

Nor does he attempt, in any instance, to reconcile the different narrations of the evangelists with each other, or to produce a regular and chronological harmony of the Gospel. His work is nothing else than a series of devout meditations on the different events recorded in the New Testament, as well as on the more remarkable traditions which have been usually circulated respecting the Divine Author of our religion, his earthly parent, and his followers. This is a plan far less extensive, less curious, and perhaps less rational, than would now be contemplated by any emi-

[e] Dedication to Hatton, vol. ii. p. 13, of this edition.

nent divine who should purpose to write a Life of Christ. But even a defective plan, in the hands of a mighty genius, may be clothed with beauties which mere learning and critical acumen could never bestow, and is susceptible of ornaments more rich and various than a more regular structure could receive with propriety. It is even probable that, as a book of devotional instruction for every class and age, the Great Exemplar may have gained an impressive and edifying interest, by the exclusion of every thing critical or antiquarian, and by the manner in which it calls our unmingled attention to the narrative of the Gospel, heightened only by those picturesque and poetical accompaniments which, like the minute ornaments of an ancient cathedral, though, separately taken, some of them might seem out of place, yet communicate to the general building the effect of beauty the most luxuriant, the most impressive, the most solemn and sacred.

Be this as it may, it must be confessed that this first popular work of Taylor's contains many splendid moral and devotional passages; that the sermons which are introduced into it (for the disquisitions which occur all answer to this description, and might be delivered from the pulpit with so much effect, that it is hard to believe that this was not their first destination,) are conceived in the same spirit of devout and majestic eloquence which pervades his Ενιαυτος; and that, in the few instances where controversial discussion was unavoidable, no writer of the age has argued with more acuteness, with more extensive learning, or so warm and earnest a charity.

Nor are these the only merits of the work which I am discussing. I am acquainted with no work of Taylor's (I might say with no work of any author) in which more of practical wisdom may be found, a greater knowledge of the human heart, and a more dexterous and touching application, not only of the solemn truths of Christianity, but of even the least important circumstances related in the life of our Saviour, to the development of sound principles of action, and to the correction and guidance of our daily conduct. Thus, in his preface, not only the exact conformity of Christianity with right reason and natural instinct,—its fitness for the present wants, as well as the future prospects

of man,—and the manner in which it confirms, extends, and illustrates the law of nature,—are laid down with admirable good sense and knowledge of his subject; but many curious and interesting principles of metaphysical and political wisdom will be found incidentally, and, as if *ex abundanti*, scattered through it, which show the grasp and vigour of the author's mind, and that, though his choice confined him to those topics which are the immediate subjects of his profession, there were few, indeed, in the treatment of which he might not have excelled. At the same time, there is none of these incidental topics which is not made conducive to the enforcement of practical piety and personal holiness. No part of his work can be read without some fruit of this kind; but, in the application of general principles to particular but important instances of thought and action, the "Exhortation to the Imitation of the Life of Christ,"—the sermon on the "Duty of Nursing Children,"—that on "Obedience,"—on "Mortification,"—on "Baptizing Infants,"—on "the Religion of Holy Places,"—on "Scandal,"—and on "the Divine Judgments," are perhaps the most remarkable.

In some instances, but in a very few, he is not to be followed without caution. He had already imbibed those opinions, the fuller exposition of which afterwards gave so much concern to some of the most distinguished members of the English church, on the subjects of original sin, and the consequences of Adam's transgression. Something of this sort may be traced in his apparently imperfect view of the causes of human corruption, when he tells us that "the law of nature, being decreed and made obligatory, was a sufficient instrument of making man happy, that is, in producing the end of his creation. But, as Adam had evil discourses and irregular appetites, before he fell, (for they made him fall,)—and as the angels, who had no original sin, yet they chose evil at the first, when it was wholly arbitrary in them to do so or otherwise; so did man. 'God made man upright, but he sought out many inventions.' Some men," he continues, "were ambitious, and, by incompetent means, would make their brethren to be their servants; some were covetous, and would usurp that which, by an earlier distinction, had passed into private possession: and then they

made new principles, and new discourses, such which were reasonable to their private indirect ends, but not to the public benefit, and, therefore, would prove unreasonable and mischievous to themselves at last[t]."

That Adam must have had a capability of sinning before he actually sinned, is demonstrably, if not evidently true: and it must, in the same way, be conceded,—if this capability of offending were all which were meant by original sin,—that the angels also who sinned, must, in their degree, have had it as well as Adam. But it is neither consonant with reason nor with Scripture to assert, that all the evil which we find in the world, and in ourselves, either was in Adam before the fall, or has been since accumulated by the free, though unhappy choice of his different descendants, gradually as they may have made the world worse, and added the contagion of example and precedent to the inherited and universal propensity to wickedness.

The existence of such a propensity in man, and the necessity of grace to give us the victory over it, Taylor has, in very many passages of his works, and in many of this work itself of which we are speaking, acknowledged with much clearness and humility. And it is strange that he did not perceive, that as Adam, at his creation, was certainly in a state of grace,—and as his descendants, at their respective births, are, as confessedly, in a state of corruption, —some change must have taken place in the nature, as well as the situation, of mankind; and that, though neither Adam nor the angels were, in the first instance, impeccable, it may well be, that, in consequence of his fall, we are by nature more inclined to sin than either he or they were.

The question will be discussed more at length in another place. I will here only observe, that in one who, like Taylor, confessed his own corruption, whencesoever derived, and placed his whole hope of pardon in Christ's blood, and of sanctification in Christ's Spirit, the error was divested of its malignity so far as it respected himself, though an error it certainly was, and, in certain ways of applying the principle, a dangerous one. It is curious to see how extremes meet. Taylor seems to have been, in a great measure, led into his

[t] Preface, vol. ii. p. xxxii.

mistake by a horror of Calvinism, and an anxiety to avoid ascribing to God the apparent injustice of cursing all the world for the sins of one man. Yet he falls into the highest supralapsarian Calvinism, by merely throwing a little farther back the origin of man's misery, and representing him as coming immediately from the hand of his Maker with the same load of invincible corruption (invincible, unless by superadded grace,) which his descendants, in their present state, carry about with them.

Surely there is little difference whether we say, with the ultra Calvinists, that God created man in order that he might fall,—or, that he so created him that he could not help falling. But, if Adam were framed not only with a capacity of sinning, but also of remaining without sin, he was then, certainly, in a state which his descendants do not experience; and there is no event in the history of the world to which the loss of this state can be assigned, except the fall of Adam and its consequences.

Nor is the justice of God impugned by the supposition that privileges which Adam had abused or neglected were not continued to his descendants, or that the race of men were, thenceforward, put under a new regimen of weakness and of repentance;—the weakness receiving sufficient but inferior spiritual aids, the repentance rewarded with a blessing beyond the utmost which Adam could have hoped for. This is the light in which the question has been viewed by the English church, and this, it might be thought, was one which, while it sufficiently establishes the dependence of man on his Maker, sufficiently vindicates the Creator from being the cause of evil, and from desiring that any of his children should perish.

Another instance in which Taylor has passed from a common and dangerous extreme to an opposite equally erroneous, is the case of death-bed repentance, which here, as in a succeeding work, he clogs with so many dangers and limitations as to render it but very little less than impossible. It has been, indeed, at all times, a vulgar and perilous self-flattery, to apprehend not only that repentance would, after a life of sin, be, at any time when we willed it, within our power; but that a few expiring lamentations, extorted by the fear of approaching torment, were to expiate

for many years of obstinate transgression, and supply, in the heart of him who is passing to his account, that love, that purity, and those other Christian graces, without which even heaven itself would be a place of misery. It is even probable that the author may have been disgusted in those days, as he would have been in these of almost equal enthusiasm, with the spectacle of criminals advancing triumphantly to their scaffold, and looking forward to a death, which they had brought on themselves by their crimes, with the same exultation as a martyr might embrace his stake; the same expressed and boasted assurance of bliss, as if the fiery chariot of the prophet were visibly waiting to receive them. Of the harm which may be done to the dying by such indiscriminate comfort—of the harm which the living will, in all probability, receive from such exaggerated statements—I am fully and mournfully sensible. But to calculate, as Taylor does, the time which is required for the acquisition of graces, which God may, if he pleases, at once communicate;—to require the expression of outward and long-continued actions, as in all instances equally necessary to confirm the inward feeling in His eyes by whom that feeling itself may be inspired;—is to make the narrow gate of salvation narrower than God has made it, and, in our anxiety for the holiness of men in health, to seal up in despair the sick soul that might otherwise have burst its bondage. There may, it should be recollected, even on a death-bed, and in a very short space of time, be the opportunity of rendering God acceptable service, and bringing forth, though amid darkness and terror, the fruits of repentance. We may have time for prayer; we may have time for confession; for forgiveness of our enemies; for patience; for resignation: perhaps for restitution. We may have *time* for some of these, for the rest we may have a *desire;*—and for *all* of these, we know, in one illustrious instance, the penitent thief had not time or opportunity. The danger which there always must be, that in sickness we should neither have opportunity nor spiritual power to turn to God—the chance that our heads may be light, or our hearts hardened, when the day of sorrow comes on us—are terrors sufficiently great to lead every man who is not insensible of danger, to employ, to the best of his power, the day of salvation while it shines; as well knowing that,

whether *others* are called effectually in the eleventh hour or not, the time at which *he* is last called must be the eleventh hour to *him*. Still, however, the manner in which Taylor has painted the dangers of a sinner's death-bed displays no ordinary pencil; and the colours (dismal as they are, and, in some instances, overcharged,) are marked, on the whole, with so much truth, that I could wish some of his frightful legends published in a popular form as an antidote to those edifying deaths which are now in almost daily circulation[e].

These are the only particulars of importance which occur to me, in which this great and good man has, in the work now before us, departed from the usual sense of the church and the general analogy of Scripture. There are other, but, in comparison, very trifling points, on which he has pronounced with too much haste or positiveness. In his Discourse on Repentance[f], he takes it for granted that the angels who sinned had never any room for repentance,—that "their first act of volition was their whole capacity of a blissful or a miserable eternity: they made their own sentence when they made their first election." This he had learned from the schoolmen, who, apprehending that the production of the angels must have taken place on the same day with the creation of the heavenly bodies, were perplexed how else to find sufficient time for the apostacy of Satan, between the commencement of his being and his successful temptation of the woman[g]; and thought the opinion, "probabiliorem et sanctiorem, quod statim post primum instans suæ creationis, diabolus peccaverit." But Taylor has, in this instance, expressed himself with more positiveness than Aquinas; and we surely know too little of the angelic nature and history, to assume any facts concerning either which are not clearly revealed in Scripture. That there are angels, and that some of them have not kept their first estate, we know, for it has been made known to us. But wherein their fault consisted, or how long they had previously remained in glory and innocency, as God has not

[e] "On Repentance," vol. ii. pp. 426, 438. "On Death," vol. iii. pp. 349, 351, 356, &c.

[f] Vol. ii. p. 392.

[g] Thom. Aquinat. Summa. 1ma Pars. Quæst. lxiii. art. 6, p. 118.

told us, it is useless to guess, and worse than useless to ground an argument on our conjectures.

In another opinion, which he elsewhere, in different passages of his works, repeats, he has fallen into the same mistake with Warburton. He tells us, that Balaam, when he prayed to die the death of the righteous, had only respect to length of days and tranquillity of mind, the promise of a life after death being hidden from the age in which he lived [h]. Without entering into such a discussion, it is enough to say, that Michaelis has shown that the writings of Moses contain abundant proofs that the immortality of the soul was familiarly known to his contemporaries [i].

There is some grave trifling in vol. ii. p. 72, about the letters of Jehovah's name, which he had from the Cabbalists. If he designed it as a poetical ornament, it savours of the taste of the time: if as an argument or illustration, it rests on too weak authority to be good for any thing. In all his works, he is fond of alluding to historical incidents, often with an admirable oratorical effect, though the stories alleged may be no more than idle legends. Here, however, he has twice quoted, as from Scripture, though without naming the place, a story of 23,000 Assyrians destroyed in one night for fornication, which, I confess, I never met with in Scripture or elsewhere [k]. But these are trifling blemishes in a work of so great length, of so distinguished beauty, usefulness, and learning, in which he has nobly fulfilled the purpose expressed in his preface, "To advance the necessity, and to declare the manner and parts of a good life. I have followed (he continues) the design of Scripture, and have given milk for babes, and for stronger men stronger meat; and in all I have despised my own reputation, by so striving to make it useful, that I was less careful to make it strict in retired senses, and embossed with unnecessary but graceful ornaments. I pray God, this may go forth into a blessing to all that shall use it, and reflect blessings upon me all the way, that my spark may grow greater by kindling my brother's taper, and God may be glorified in us both. If

[h] Vol. iii. 151.

[i] Michaelis, Argumenta Immortalitatis Animarum ex Mose collecta.

[k] Vol. ii. p. 34.—vol. iii. p. 233.

the reader shall receive no benefit, yet I intended him one, and I have laboured in order to it; and I shall receive a great recompense for that intention, if he shall please to say this prayer for me,—'That while I have preached to others, I may not become a castaway[l]!'"

In the "Literary Life of the Reverend John Serjeant, written by himself," inserted in the Roman Catholic Miscellany, entitled the "Catholicon," vol. iii. the "Great Exemplar" is said to be a mere translation of the Life of Christ by Ludolphus de Saxonia[m]. The assertion, however, is entirely groundless; so much so, that, except in the circumstance that both authors intermix prayers and moral reflections with their narrative, it is scarcely possible to find two books written on any one subject which have so few coincidences of arrangement, sentiment or expression. The merits of the works of Ludolphus, which, as a pious, useful, and practical treatise, I am very far from undervaluing, are of a nature entirely different from those of the Great Exemplar. Ludolphus, (as was necessary in an author who wrote for those by whom the Scriptures themselves were little known or studied,) gives a long and minute detail of almost every word and action of our Lord;—appending to each a string of moral and religious observations, extracted, chiefly verbatim, from the Fathers. Taylor passes rapidly over the greater part of this detail; but expands, from time to time, into long and eloquent discourses on the more remarkable actions and doctrines of our Lord, to which his rival offers nothing correspondent. The style of the one is usually plain and simple, though his prayers are, many of them, conceived in a pleasing and fervent strain of piety. That of the other luxuriates in a richness of imagery and a grandiloquence of expression, which breathe, in every sentence, the vital and essential spirit of poetry. The reading of Taylor was so excursive that it is, indeed, most probable that he was not unacquainted with the work of Ludolphus, and it is possible that, from it, the outline and first conception of his own book may have been taken. But

[l] Vol. ii. p. lviii.

[m] "Vita Jesus Christi Redemptoris Nostri, ex Medullis Evangelicis, et approbatis ab Ecclesia Doctoribus, sedule per Ludolphum de Saxonia, Ordinis Carthusiensis collecta,"—1509.

more than this a comparison of the two Lives forbids us to allow, and for even this, so far as I am aware, there is no internal evidence whatever in the work of Taylor.

I have already suggested the probability which there is that the extensive popularity of the Great Exemplar produced the "Holy Living," and the "Holy Dying," works which were, in like manner, devoted to the promotion of practical holiness, and which, with the exception of some Sermons, were the next in succession of his published labours.

Both are dedicated to the earl of Carbery, the first in a splendid description of the miseries of the time, and the duty of a good man under those miseries. This dedication concludes with five rules for the application of the counsels which follow, so simple, so just, and displaying so accurate a knowledge of the dispositions and dangers of mankind, that they cannot be too firmly imprinted in the memory of a Christian.

"1. They that will, with profit, make use of the proper instruments of virtue, must so live as if they were always under the physician's hand. For the counsels of religion are not to be applied to the distempers of the soul, as men used to take hellebore; but they must dwell together with the spirit of a man, and be twisted about his understanding for ever: they must be used like nourishment, that is, by a daily care and meditation, not like a single medicine, and upon the actual pressure of a present necessity. For counsels and wise discourses, applied to an actual distemper, at the best are but like strong smells to an epileptic person; sometimes they may raise him up, but they never cure him. The following rules, if they be made familiar to our natures and the thoughts of every day, may make virtue and religion become easy and habitual; but, when the temptation is present, and hath already seized upon some portion of our consent, we are not so apt to be counselled; and we find no gust or relish in the precept; the lessons are the same, but the instrument is unstrung or out of tune.

"2. In using the instruments of virtue, we must be curious to distinguish instruments from duties, and prudent advices from necessary injunctions; and if by any other means the duty can be secured, let there be no scruples

stirred concerning any other helps: only, if they can, in that case, strengthen and secure the duty or help towards perseverance, let them serve in that station in which they can be placed. For there are some persons, in whom the Spirit of God hath breathed so bright a flame of love, that they do all their acts of virtue by perfect choice and without objection; and their zeal is warmer than that it will be allayed by temptation: and to such persons mortification by philosophical instruments, as fasting, sackcloth, and other rudenesses to the body, is wholly useless: it is always a more uncertain means to acquire any virtue or secure any duty; and if love hath filled all the corners of our soul, he alone is able to all the work of God.

"3. Be not nice in stating the obligations of religion; but, where the duty is necessary and the means very reasonable in itself, dispute not too busily whether, in all circumstances, it can fit thy particular; but, 'super totam materiam,' upon the whole, make use of it. For it is a good sign of a great religion, and no imprudence, when we have sufficiently considered the substance of affairs, then to be easy, humble, obedient, apt and credulous in the circumstances, which are appointed to us, in particular, by our spiritual guides, or, in general, by all wise men in cases not unlike. He that gives alms, does best not always to consider the minutes and strict measures of his ability, but to give freely, incuriously, and abundantly. A man must not weigh grains in the accounts of his repentance; but for a great sin have a great sorrow and a great severity, and in this take the ordinary advices, though, it may be, a less rigour might not be insufficient. Ακριβοδικαιον, or arithmetical measures, especially of our own proportioning, are but arguments of want of love and of frowardness in religion: or else are instruments of scruple, and then become dangerous. Use the rule heartily and enough, and there will be no harm in the error, if any should happen.

"4. If thou intendest heartily to serve God, and avoid sin in any one instance, refuse not the hardest and most severe advice that is prescribed in order to it, though possibly it be a stranger to thee; for, whatsoever it be, custom will make it easy.

"5. When many instruments for the obtaining any

virtue or restraining any vice are propounded, observe which of them best fits thy person or the circumstances of thy need, and use it rather than the other; that by this means thou mayest be engaged to watch, and use spiritual arts and observation about thy soul. Concerning the managing of which, as the interest is greater, so the necessities are more, and the cases more intricate, and the accidents and dangers greater and more importunate, and there is greater skill required, than in the securing an estate, or restoring health to an infirm body. I wish all men in the world did heartily believe so much of this as is true: it would very much help to do the work of God[n]."

The Holy Living is divided into four chapters, in the first of which he discusses the instrumental means of holiness, such as—care of our time, purity of intention, and a sense of the Divine presence; and gives rules for producing and preserving all these habits in our hearts and behaviour, of which those for the improvement of time are perhaps the most useful and practical.

The second chapter treats of Christian sobriety, which he divides into the five heads of Temperance, Chastity, Humility, Modesty, and Contentment,—and defines in general to be "an using severity, denial and frustration of our appetite, when it grows unreasonable in any of these instances[o]." He introduces the discussion of these different topics with some observations on voluptuousness according to this general definition, and with rules for subduing our natural tendency towards it, which will well reward the reader, and which, for the general reader, are perhaps better adapted than the remedies which follow for specific and grosser vices. In all cases, his rules for avoiding sin, when not too scrupulous and ascetic for practice, and therefore less likely to do good than if they were less efficacious but more attainable means of holiness, are better than the arguments which he uses against each sin in order. But of all his rules, the "Acts and Offices of Humility" are, perhaps, the most impressive,—the most effectual,—the most sensible and rational,—the most applicable to the temptations and necessities of every man.

[n] Vol. iii. pp. 7, 8, 9. [o] Page 56.

The third chapter is devoted to the discussion of Christian justice, defined as either commutative or distributive, and divided into the several heads of, 1. "Obedience," as due from inferiors to superiors;—2. "Provision," or Protecting Care, from Sovereigns, Judges, Parents, Masters, Guardians;—3. Negociation or Contracts;—4. Restitution, which he defines, as "that part of justice to which a man is obliged by a precedent contract or a foregoing fault, by his own act or another man's, either with or without his will[p]." His rules in this part of his work are admirable. They are casuistry in its highest and noblest sense, in which nothing is overstrained, nothing extenuated, and (so far as general principles and the compass of a short chapter can reach) nothing unprovided for; inasmuch as, even where neither the obligations of default nor contract can extend, he has specified the no less strong and yet holier obligation of gratitude.

The fourth chapter treats of the Duties of Religion, under the heads of its *internal* and *external* actions. The former are Faith, Hope, and Love; to his account of which is added an admirable digression on Zeal.

"The sum is this: that zeal is not a direct duty, no where commanded for itself, and is nothing but a forwardness in the circumstances of another duty, and therefore is then only acceptable, when it advances the love of God and our neighbours. That zeal is only safe, only acceptable, which increases charity directly: and because love to our neighbour and obedience to God are the two great portions of charity, we must never account our zeal to be good but as it advances both these, if it be in a matter that relates to both, or severally, if it relates severally. St. Paul's zeal was expressed in preaching without any offerings or stipend, in travelling, in spending and being spent for his flock, in suffering, in being willing to be accursed, for love of the people of God and his countrymen. Let our zeal be as great as his was, so it be in affections to others, but not at all in angers against them. In the first there is no danger, in the second there is no safety. In brief, let your zeal,

[p] Page 166.

(if it must be expressed in anger) be always more severe against yourself than your neighbours[q]."

The external actions of religion Taylor defines to be, "1. Reading and hearing the word of God;—2. Fasting and corporeal austerities;—3. Feasting, or keeping days of public joy and thanksgiving." On all these his observations are distinguished by sound good sense and earnest piety. Even on fasting,—a duty now so much neglected, and to disquisitions on which so few will turn with any other feeling than curiosity,—the reasonableness of his rules will strike many who, from carelessness or the habits of the age, are negligent of, or averse to, a practice sanctioned by the constitution of our nature; the experience of ages; the injunction of all Christian churches; the example of all the good men of former times, of the apostles, and of the Son of God[r].

He grounds the sanctity of the Lord's day, not on a divine commandment, as was the case with the Jewish sabbath, (for this commandment he conceives to have had respect to that day and that nation only,) but on the great duty for which the fourth commandment provides, of confessing on all occasions God to be the Maker of heaven and earth, and on the institution of the apostles that the first day in the week should be set apart for doing this in solemn assemblies. The same opinion he afterwards expressed more at large in his Ductor Dubitantium[s]. It seems to have been also the opinion of Laud, of Luther, of Calvin, of Spencer, and of almost all the early fathers, who agree in representing the fourth commandment as of temporary obligation only, and as merely applying to Christians in a spiritual sense; as inculcating a devotion of ourselves to God's service on all proper opportunities, and that rest from worldly cares, of which, to the Jews, the sabbath was typical[t]. That the authority and example of the apostles,

[q] Page 202.

[r] See Ductor Dubitantium. On the interpretation and obligation of the Laws of Jesus Christ, vol. xiii. p. 11.

[s] Of the Christian Law, vol. xii. p. 412.

[t] Laud, Troubles and Trial, p. 345. Luther, Auslegung der X. Gebothen, Op. Lips. tom. iii. pp. 642-643. Calvin, Instit. lib. ii. c. viii. sect. 31, et seq. Op. Amstel. tom. ix. p. 99. Spencer de Leg. Hebræor. lib. i. c. v. pp. 83, 94.

the uniform tradition of the church, the reasonableness of the practice abstractedly considered, the necessities of men, and the precedent of God's corresponding ordinance under the old law, are sufficient reasons for keeping the Lord's day holy, the great men whom I have cited were far indeed from doubting. Whether their view of the subject be more correct than that which makes the fourth commandment, in its literal meaning, a part of the moral and universal law, this is not the place for examining. They who apprehend that the sanctity of Sunday will be endangered by a contrary opinion, may read what Taylor himself says on the subject.—"The Jews," he observes, "had a divine commandment for their day, which we have not for ours; but we have many commandments to do all that honour to God which was intended in the fourth commandment; and the apostles appointed the first day of the week for doing it in solemn assemblies[u]. Upon the Lord's day, we must abstain from all servile and laborious works, except such which are matters of necessity, of common life, or of great charity; for these are permitted by that authority which hath separated the day for holy uses. The sabbath of the Jews, though consisting principally in rest, and established by God, did yield to these. And, therefore, this is to be enlarged in the Gospel, whose sabbath or rest is but a circumstance, and accessary to the principal and spiritual duties. Upon the Christian sabbath necessity is to be served first; then charity; and then religion; for this is to give place to charity in great instances, and the second to the first in all: and in all cases, God is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth."

His observations on prayer, and, incidentally, on vows; those on alms, together with the remedies which he suggests for the great causes of an unmerciful and uncharitable spirit, envy, anger and covetousness; his canons of repentance, and his directions for receiving the sacrament, are all equally devout, eloquent, and sensible. But I will not select, where all may be read with advantage, and can hardly be read without admiration. To clothe virtue in its most picturesque and attractive colouring, to enforce with

[u] Holy Living, vol. iv. pp. 214, 215.

all the terrors of the divine law, its essential obligations; and to distinguish, in almost every instance most successfully, between what is prudent and what is necessary; what may fitly be done, and what cannot be safely left undone,—this is the triumph of a Christian moralist; and this Jeremy Taylor has, in a great degree, achieved in his discourse on Holy Living.

Each chapter is followed by a series of prayers, adapted to those temptations or duties which have been discussed in it. Of these prayers the merit is in a great measure proved by their popularity; a popularity, perhaps, little less than that which our beautiful Liturgy itself has obtained among Christians. Almost all of them contain passages of genuine poetry and eloquence, and all are pervaded by a tenderness and pathos of earnest piety which must have proceeded from the feeling which they express, and which few persons ever read without finding it in some degree contagious.

But I must confess that I like those prayers the best which have the fewest of Taylor's peculiar ornaments; of those rhetorical augments which are never so little in their place as when addressing the Most High;—that accumulation of circumstances, and those sentences, almost endless, which distract attention when it ought to be concentrated, and compel us to take breath in the midst of our most earnest aspirations. My meaning will be plain to those who compare his four collects, "for subjects when their land is overrun by barbarous and wicked people," with the few and simple, yet majestic words of the prayer in our church service "in time of war and troubles;" or his "Act of Contrition," preparatory to the sacrament, with the General Confession, which is appointed for that occasion[x].

But the want of taste is still greater when, in a solemn address of the penitent to his Redeemer, the sufferings of that Redeemer are enumerated at full length, and with circumstances added which rest on no authentic history or probable tradition. When we entreat Christ to have mercy on us, by "his agony and bloody sweat, by his cross and passion,"—we both quicken our own devotional feelings by

[x] Page 175, 300.

the mention of what he has done for us, and we plead with him, in behalf of our requests, considerations which we know to be prevailing. But where do we learn that the garden of Gethsemane was "*set with nothing but briers and thorns,*" that our Lord was "*drenched*" by his enemies in the brook Cedron; that he was "*tormented with a tablet, stuck with nails, at the fringes of his garment,* that his cross, *being set in a hollowness of the earth, did, in the fall, render his wounds wider?*" Surely such legends, borrowed from the "stations" of the Christians in the middle ages, and without any authority of Scripture or antiquity, are altogether unfit to be spoken to Him who is not to be flattered by exaggerated representations of what he has himself done and suffered, and whose revealed and authentic sufferings and patience were too great and too glorious to need the improvements of human fancy[7]. In all his Devotions, indeed, Taylor seems to have taken St. Augustine as his model, rather than our own or the elder liturgies; and both have erred in transferring to prayer those ornaments which might, some of them, be not improper in a sermon. But who can wonder that it should be no easy task for man to find fit words to commune with the Almighty? What greater praise could Taylor have himself desired than that, in falling short of the excellencies of our Common Prayer, he has fallen short of that only?

The "Holy Dying" is introduced by a Dedication, also to lord Carbery, in which the author, in a strain of touching eloquence, recommends his work to his patron as that which, in manuscript, had been seen and approved by the deceased object of his dearest affections. "I am treating your lordship as a Roman gentleman did St. Augustine and his mother; I shall entertain you in a charnel-house, and carry your meditations awhile into the chambers of death."—— "My lord, it is your dear lady's anniversary, and she deserved the biggest honour, and the longest memory, and the fairest monument, and the most solemn mourning: and, in order to it, give me leave, my lord, to cover her hearse with these following sheets. This book was intended, first, to minister to her piety; and she desired all good people

[7] Pp. 300, 301.

should partake of the advantages which are here recorded. She knew how to live rarely well, and she desired to know how to die, and God taught her by an experiment."——"My lord, both your lordship and myself, have lately seen and felt such sorrow of death, and such sad departure of dearest friends, that it is more than high time we should think ourselves nearly concerned in the accidents. Death has come so near to you, as to fetch a portion from your very heart; and now you cannot choose but dig your own grave, and place your coffin in your eye, when the angel hath dressed your scene of sorrow and meditation with so particular and so near an object; and, therefore, as it is my duty, I am come to minister to your sorrows, that they may turn into virtues and advantages."

The remainder of the Address is occupied in an exposition of the principles and motives of his undertaking, in which, as might be expected from his known opinions, he enlarges on the vanity or uncertainty of a late and sick-bed repentance; the idle folly of the extreme unction of the Romish church, and the unauthorized, as he esteems it, and unprofitable, though extremely ancient practice of prayers for the departed spirit. In some of his assertions, more particularly on the first of these topics, he here, as elsewhere, is, perhaps, too strict and uncompromising. Yet the caution which he founds, in part, on these doctrines, is one which may well tingle in the ears of those that live carelessly,—and it is one of which the truth is shown by very many considerations of undoubted and awful certainty. "My lord; it is a great art to die well, and to be learned by men in health, by them that can discourse and consider; by those whose understanding and acts of reason are not abated with fear or pains: and, as the greatest part of death is passed by the preceding years of our life, so also, in those years, are the greatest preparations to it; and he that prepares not for death before his last sickness, is like him that begins to study philosophy, when he is going to dispute publicly in the faculty."——"And, therefore,"—"it is intended, by the necessity of affairs, that the precepts of dying well be part of the studies of them that are in health, and the days of discourse and understanding, which, in this case, hath another degree of necessity superadded; because, in other notices, an imperfect study may be

supplied by a frequent exercise and renewed experience; here, if we practise imperfectly once, we shall never recover the error[z]."

The work itself is divided into seven chapters. The first consists of "General Considerations preparatory to a Holy and blessed Death,"—as of the vanity and shortness of man's life, a knowledge of which should induce us to make timely preparation for quitting it;—of the means and opportunities which God has given us for this work, and which, if duly employed, will take off all objection that our lives are too short for our necessary preparation: and the miseries of man's life in this world, which should induce us to depart from it gladly. The second recommends "a general preparation for a blessed death, by way of exercise;" 1. by always looking for death; 2. by daily providing for it; and by 3. a "life severe, holy, and under the discipline of the cross; under the conduct of prudence and observation, a life of warfare and sober counsels, labour, and watchfulness." In applying these precepts to particulars, he recommends, 1. a daily self-examination; 2. a lifelong and constant charity. And, to encourage men to endure the burden and uneasiness of the first of these, he remarks, "that we had better bear the burden of the Lord, than the burden of a base and polluted conscience,"—that "religion cannot be so great a trouble as a guilty soul; and whatsoever trouble may or can be fancied in this or any other action of religion, it is only to inexperienced persons." But, he proceeds,—"to examine our lives will be no trouble, if we do not intricate it with businesses of the world, and the labyrinths of care and impertinent affairs."—"He that covets many things greedily, and snatches at high things ambitiously, that despises his neighbour proudly, and bears his crosses peevishly, or his prosperity impotently and passionately; he that is prodigal of his precious time, and is tenacious and retentive of evil purposes, is not a man disposed to this exercise: he hath reason to be afraid of his own memory, and to dash his glass in pieces, because it must needs represent to his eyes an intolerable deformity."—"In the interim they are impatient of being examined, as a leper is of a comb, and are greedy

[z] Dedication, vol. iv. pp. cccxix. cccxx.

of the world, as children of raw fruit; and they hate a severe reproof as they do thorns in their bed; and they love to lay aside religion, as a drunken person does to forget his sorrow; and all the way they dream of fine things, and their dreams prove contrary, and become the hieroglyphics of an eternal sorrow." — "To be cozened in making judgments concerning our final condition, is extremely easy; but, if we be cozened, we are infinitely miserable[a]."

His observations on charity, "with its twin daughters, alms and forgiveness," are abundantly beautiful and sensible; and he winds up the second chapter with a description in the highest strain of poetry, (somewhat too poetical, perhaps, for a religious and practical treatise,) of the different deaths of the good and wicked man; in which the natural terrors of the one and the natural hopes of the other, are heightened and prolonged, beyond the veil of mortality, into the regions where, (as some of those legends have told, with which the studies of Taylor were familiar,) the soul becomes the object of contest between angels and devils. The picture is magnificent; but he himself seems sensible that such speculations may be pursued too far, when he winds it up with the following caution. "Fearful, and formidable to unholy persons, is the first meeting with spirits in their separation. But the victory which holy souls receive by the mercies of Jesus Christ and the conduct of angels, is a joy that we must not understand till we feel it; and yet such which by an early and persevering piety we may secure: but let us inquire after it no farther, because it is secret[b]!"

In the next chapter he prescribes remedies against impatience in sickness, and against an immoderate fear of death, and adds some general rules to make sickness safe and holy, more particularly by continuance in prayer, and by an infinite solicitude that we "at no hand commit a deliberate sin, or retain any affection to the old."——"They were sad departures when Tigellinus, Cornelius Gallus, the prætor; Lewis, the son of Gonzaga, duke of Mantua; Ladislaus, king of Naples; Speusippus; Giachetius of Geneva, and one of the popes, died in the forbidden embraces of abused women; or if Job had cursed God and so died: or when a man sits

[a] Pages 379—381. [b] P. 388.

down in despair, and in the accusation and calumny of the divine mercy; they make their night sad, and stormy, and eternal. When Herod began to sink with the shameful torment of his bowels, and felt the grave open under him, he imprisoned the nobles of his kingdom, and commanded his sister that they should be a sacrifice to his departing ghost[c]. This was an egress fit only for such persons who meant to dwell with devils to eternal ages, and that man is hugely in love with sin, who cannot forbear, in the week of the assizes, and when himself stands at the bar of scrutiny, and prepared for his final, never to be reversed sentence. He dies suddenly to the worse sense and event of sudden death, who so manages his sickness, that even that state shall not be innocent."

The fourth chapter is occupied with rules for the practice of the graces proper to a state of sickness; of patience, of faith, of repentance, of justice, and of charity. The last treats on the urgent necessity and best manner of visiting the sick by the ministers of religion; and he concludes his subject with the duties of those who survive, as to the execution of the will of their departed friends, and the moderation and decency of their funerals.

On the whole it may be said, that the 'Holy Dying,' in point of composition, and in the display of the characteristic beauties of Taylor's style and language, exceeds the 'Holy Living.' The subject admitted of, and, indeed, invited him to a greater indulgence in those touching and tender visions of affection, of natural images, and of supernatural aspirations which were familiar to his mind, and were apt to intrude unbidden. As a practical work, its use may be, perhaps, less obvious and less extensive than its companion; for a sick-bed it is too long, and, when men are in health, they read it, are delighted, and lay it down again. But, as a manual and directory for those whose office it is to converse with the sick and dying, its uses are manifold, and its importance only to be estimated by those who have themselves given some portion of their thoughts and their time to this most interesting, most charitable, and, when rightly managed, this most edifying and instructive duty of Christian morality.

[c] Note (QQ.)

And it may often happen, perhaps it often has happened, that men, who have read it for its beauties, have been impressed by the lessons it conveys; and, by beginning with the 'Holy Dying' of Taylor, have been led to study his 'Holy Living' with more advantage. It is remarkable, that, though its general style is more than usually poetical, even for its author, the prayers subjoined to the different chapters are less so than those either in the 'Holy Living,' or the 'Great Exemplar.' Perhaps he had been told of that which was the main fault in his devotional writings. Perhaps the solemnity of the subject impressed him too deeply to allow his fancy to luxuriate as on former occasions.

To the same class with the works now described, but to a very inferior standard of taste and eloquence, must be referred the "Contemplations of the State of Man," and the treatise on "Christian Consolation." Both these were posthumous works; both are ascribed to Taylor on unquestionable authority; both have some passages conceived and expressed in his peculiar style, and the opinions delivered in both are so conformable to those of his acknowledged works, that there can be little doubt of his being the author. The former, however, is one which, in its present state, he would hardly have sent out to the world. It is marked, indeed, throughout, with genuine and characteristic piety. It displays, even more ostentatiously than Taylor was accustomed to do,—a strange and almost boundless familiarity with all kinds of reading, from the fathers and the schoolmen down to the voyages of the Buccaneers. Its author is evidently one before whom the page of ancient and modern history lay open: and whose mind was imbued with a recollection of the greatest poets and orators of antiquity. Nor are there wanting descriptions conceived in the powerful tone and animated feeling of a poet or an orator. But never were such powers and acquirements employed to garnish such a string of truisms;—to tell us that time is always on the wing;—that all human things are transitory; because Thebes and Quinsay have both fallen into ruins[d]; that the fame of the greatest of Europeans cannot hope to pass the barrier of the Riphean mountains, any more than the glory of "Veneta-

[d] Note (QQ.)

padino Ragium, king of Narsinga," hath sounded through the cities of the west. Life, he goes on to prove, is vain, because Homer likened the race of men to the leaves of the forest; and the patriarchs, who sojourned on earth eight hundred years, esteemed their time but as a shadow. That it is miserable, he shows by divers strange instances of disease, such as of "Feretrina, queen of the Barcæans, whose flesh turned into maggots and grubs," and of Palæologus the Second, emperor of Constantinople, "whose infirmity, after a year's continuance, found no other remedy but to be *continually vexed and displeased*;—his wife and servants, who most desired his health, having no ways to restore it but by disobedience, still crossing and opposing him in whatever he most desired." That life must have an end, and all the beauty and excellency of the body perish; that death is certain, and may come very shortly, he proves not only by the examples of Adam, Cain, Methuselah, and many other eminent persons, who have all had the misfortune to die; but from the experience of those who attend on the dead, and witness the change of the body into corruption. By such considerations as these no man was ever yet moved to think himself in danger of death; to slight the enticements of pleasure, or to despise the promises of ambition. He whose heart and hope are in the present life, is not the less likely to affix a high value on twenty years of worldly existence, because some men, who have lived eight hundred years, could have been content to live on longer. That our fame cannot reach to Japan or China, is no very appalling consideration to those who have never contemplated a wider theatre of glory than Europe or England. And the homage of a single parish, the applause of a domestic circle, has ordinarily no less power to excite the ambition or the vanity of the human heart than the loudest praises of the mightiest nations. That we must die, and one day be turned into dust, the miser and the voluptuary are aware already; but they are considerations of a different and higher nature which alone have power to prevent either the one or the other from indulging in those pursuits which enable him to pass that short time agreeably. Such considerations, indeed, Taylor was not likely to forget; and after eight chapters filled with the ornaments which I have already described, he

at length arrives at the end of the world, and the terrible judgment to which it is a prelude.

Even here, however, though it was impossible for him to avoid some bursts of sublimity, and though the subject itself is one which, in its bare enunciation, is sufficient to make the blood freeze and the ears tingle,—he has contrived, by a strange and laboured enumeration of circumstances, some unfounded on any scriptural authority, some fanciful or fabulous, some utterly trifling and insignificant, to distract the attention of his readers as much as possible from the grander features of the picture,—the "melting of the elements with fervent heat,"—"the coming of the Son of God in the air, with all his holy angels with him,"—"the throne of his glory,"—the "trumpet of God,"—and the simple, but awful terms of blessing and cursing.

What commentator on the Revelations, since the time of Cornelius à Lapide, has believed that the allegorical locusts, described by St. John, are to be devils in that shape, who, at the end of the world, shall issue from the bottomless pit? Who, that was really and fully impressed with the idea of all nature expiring in flames, could recollect that the works of Aristotle and Ulpian would then be consumed, or that the statue of massy gold, erected by Gorgias the Leontine, (*if not already destroyed,*) "shall perish in this great and general conflagration?"—Nor, though the circumstance is, in itself, picturesque and well imagined, and though abundant use of it has been made in the hymns and paintings of the Romish church, will Protestants in general read with much faith or interest, that "before the Judge shall be borne his standard, which Chrysostom and divers other doctors affirm shall be the very cross on which he suffered."

The second book is occupied in speculations on the glories of heaven and the miseries of hell,—pictures forcibly and ably drawn, but with much of bad taste, and still more of presumptuous fancy. Yet the practical observations of this latter part are far better than any in the preceding; and, while he expatiates on the glowing allegories employed in Scripture to express the rewards and punishments of eternity, as his imagination has a greater and more legitimate scope, so the images which he suggests are less mingled with trifling circumstances, and more calculated

to impress the mind of his reader with exalted delight or terror. On the whole, there are, perhaps, more and greater faults of style in the "Contemplations on the State of Man," than in any of Taylor's other writings; but there are also beauties of description and of illustration, which, out of his writings, I know not where to find, and which, if he had written this work alone, would have raised him to no vulgar height among the divines of the seventeenth century.

Such is, perhaps, the following description of Christ; which, if it be too daring for a Christian teacher, is at least conceived in a tone of high poetical feeling, and which, in the circumstance of the twofold appearance of the same divine countenance to the wicked and the good, bears a strong resemblance to a fine passage in the Kehama of Mr. Southey[f].

"The Saviour of the world shall sit upon a throne of great majesty; his countenance shall be most mild and peaceable towards the good, and, though the same, most terrible towards the bad: out of his sacred wounds shall issue beams of light towards the just, full of love and sweetness; but unto sinners full of fire and wrath, who shall weep bitterly for the evils which issue from them. So great shall be the majesty of Christ, that the miserable damned, and the devils themselves, notwithstanding the hate they bear him, shall yet prostrate themselves and adore him, and, to their greater confusion, acknowledge him for Lord and God: and those who have most blasphemed him shall then bow before him, fulfilling the promises of the eternal Father, that all things shall be subject unto him.

"This is the end wherein all time is to determine; and this the catastrophe, so fearful unto the wicked, where all things temporal are to conclude: let us, therefore, take heed how we use them; and, that we may use them well, let us be mindful of this last day, this day of justice and calamity, this day of terror and amazement; the memory whereof will serve much for the reformation of our lives: let us think of it, and fear it; for it is the most terrible of all things terrible, and the consideration most profitable and acceptable, to

[f] Note (88.)

cause in us a holy fear of God, and to convert us unto him; while I live, I will, therefore, ever preserve in my memory this day of terror, that I may hereafter enjoy security for the whole eternity of God. Above all things, I will keep before my eyes the last of all days; and all the moments of my life I will think, and for ever think of eternity[f]."

The "Christian Consolations" were originally written, as we are informed by the publisher in his preface, for the private use of a noble and excellent Lady, probably Anne, daughter of Sir Heneage Finch, and wife of his patron Edward Lord Conway, of whose benevolence and piety we read much in the writings of the excellent Henry More. She appears, from some parts even of his eulogium, and still more, from different slight circumstances mentioned of her in the Rawdon Papers[g], to have been a woman of considerable powers of mind, and of a high and seraphical devotion, but credulous and low-spirited, suffering under continued ill-health, and indulging more than her husband seems to have patiently endured, in the privileges and fears of a hypochondriac invalid, and the austere retirement of a religious votary; a zealous pupil, at one period of her life, of the sublime absurdities of cabalistic Platonism; at another the confiding patient of the miraculous Greatraiks, and, at length, entirely surrounded by Quakers and enthusiasts of a yet wilder character. To such a person the Consolations which Taylor could offer might have been abundantly necessary and valuable: and, in fact, there is none of his works better calculated to bind up, with rational and warrantable comfort, the wounds of an afflicted spirit, and to confirm a weak and wavering one in the safe and authentic path of faith and duty.

The treatise begins with stating the necessity of applying comfort rather than terror to those who are really impressed with a deep sense of the solemn truths of Christianity, and with shortly laying down the sources whence Christian comfort may be derived, from faith, from hope, from the graces of the Holy Ghost, from prayer, and the two sacraments. All these, as conducing to our present happiness

[f] Vol. iii. pp. 479—481. [g] Note (TT.)

as well as holiness, he discusses in five chapters, none of them distinguished by the glowing beauties of some of his other productions, but all sensible, judicious, and affecting.

The following passage is interesting, not only from its own merit, but as in some respects (in all essential respects, indeed,) differing from the language which he would have held when he wrote the "Doctrine of Repentance." The Christian Consolations, it may be observed, was one of Taylor's last compositions.

"*Be merciful unto my sin, for it is great*, says David. This is not the way to deal with mortal judges, when we stand at their bar: but this is the way to obtain propitiation from our God. Heal me, for I am sore wounded: cure me, for I am very sick: be merciful unto my sin, for it is very great! Zozimus, a Pagan that envied the honour of Constantine the Great, makes this tale to discredit him in his history: that Constantine had put his wife Fausta and his son Crispus to death; after which, being haunted with an ill conscience that gave him no quiet, he sought among the heathen priests for expiation, and they could give him no peace; but he was told that the religion of Christians was so audacious as to promise pardon to all sins, were they never so horrible. Is not this to commend both the emperor and his religion under the form of a dispraise? For what rest could a troubled mind attain to from the rites and superstitions of idol gods? But, in the immense treasure of the price of the blood of Christ, there is redemption for every sinner that repents and believes."

Not that he, at any time, forgot the parts and offices of repentance.

"And beware that you overlook not these multitudes of sins of the under size, as if little grief or anxiety would serve for them. Are they not numberless grains of sand? And may not a weight of too much sand sink down a ship as soon as a burden of too much iron? The dailiness of sin must be bewailed with the dailiness of sorrow; and then, when thou liest down, thou shalt not be afraid: yea, thou shalt lie down, and thy sleep shall be sweet."

The notions which he, at this time, entertained as to original sin, are also worth extracting. He is speaking of the difficulties which oppose us in our way to heaven; and

what he now says sufficiently exculpates him from having imbibed the error of the Perfectionists.

"These difficulties are either in ourselves or in our adventure: in ourselves partly through natural imbecility, partly through contracted impotency. Our natural languor is that of original contagion, which makes us so weak that there is none that doth good, no not one. Which is not to be extenuated, as if the malignity of it might be suppressed with a little resistance. It is good to know the power of so strong an enemy, that we may be fortified against it. It is a root of bitterness never to be digged up out of corrupt nature: a coal of fire spitting out sparks of temptation continually, as inward to us as the marrow is in our bones. Yet there is hope in Christ to slake this fire, though not utterly, in this life, to quench it. Therefore, since God is our help against the insurrection of this rebellious sin, let us be comforted in his help and not in excuses. For we must not plead our personal maladies and natural inclinations, and think that God will take it for an answer and ask no more. To what purpose are the pourings out of the spirit, but that what is wickedly inbred from our conception should be shaken off from the tree, and a better fruit spring up in its place from the increase of God?"

His observations on spiritual influence, on prayer, and on the sacraments, are all excellent. On baptism he states that—

"Spiritual regeneration is that which the Gospel hath set forth to be the principal correlative of baptism. O happy it is for us to be born again by water and the Holy Ghost! For better it were never to be born than not to be born twice. I have assurance that the spirit is not disjoined from the water, for Christ's word cannot fail that we shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost. *But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified*, but ye are justified *in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.* There is another cavil made by some, that, notwithstanding baptism, original sin remains in us all the days of our life. True, the sin is not blotted out in the infant; but it is blotted out of the book of God. And, as actual sins are pardoned for Christ's sake, yet it cannot be brought to pass that they should never be done which are done and past, but it is enough that they

shall not be imputed; so original sin cleaves unto us: it is not cast out, for I feel it in me, but it is remitted."

Enough, however, has already been instanced to show the value of this long-neglected and almost unknown manual, of which one single copy only was known to exist, in the Bodleian Library, from which the reprint is taken which appears in the present volume. I will only give two more extracts. The one is so characteristic of Taylor's manner, as to be, in itself, almost sufficient to establish the authenticity of the volume.

"Mark the rain that falls from above, and the same shower that, dropped out of one cloud, increaseth sundry plants in a garden, and severally according to the condition of every plant. In one stalk it makes a rose, in another a violet, divers in a third, and sweet in all. So the Spirit works its multiformous effects in several complexions, and all according to the increase of God."

The other I do not quote as praising or agreeing with it. It is a hard, and, I conceive, an unfounded statement of, at least in one very important instance, the spiritual state of the heathen. He maintains that neither Jews, nor Mahometans, nor Pagans, get any thing by that prayer to which the promise is made, "Ask, and ye shall have."—"Such a faith as possessed idolaters is not that which impetrates mercy from God."

Surely the instance, which he himself brings forward, of Nineveh, is a proof that even idolaters, and 'à fortiori,' Mahometans and Jews, by prayer and repentance of some of their most crying sins, may obtain from God very eminent and illustrious mercies.

His Sermons next offer themselves to our observation, sixty-four in number, of which all, even those which were preached on public and political occasions, may be regarded as in a great degree practical. Of them a less accurate examination is necessary, inasmuch as no sermons of that age, perhaps of any other age, are more frequently on the tables and in the hands of general readers. To praise them would be idle and unnecessary; and their faults, like their merits, are obvious even to a careless observer. To estimate, however, those merits sufficiently, it is necessary to bear in mind the difficulties attendant on this style of composition,

and the few good models, (besides St. Chrysostom, whom in many respects he much resembled) which Taylor, at the commencement of his career, had before him.

It would be a long inquiry, and one which is by no means necessary to my subject, to enter into the causes of that remarkable decay of eloquence, which may be said to have taken its rise among the Greeks and Romans, from the time at which the usurpation of the Cæsars had reduced their world to the sullen calm of despotism. This deficiency, beyond a doubt, as it extended to Pagans as well as Christians, and was felt while Christianity was as yet politically insignificant, arose from causes distinct from any peculiar habits of the Christian church.

Yet, so far as this last was concerned, (in which the popular form of government, and the sermons preached in their different assemblies, might have led us to expect a different result,) it is evident that the system of homilies, of which description are most of the addresses of the fathers to their congregations, though of all others, perhaps, the best fitted for general edification, was in itself unfavourable to the exercise of oratorical talent.

A running commentary requires conciseness, and even abruptness: and the necessity of discussing many different passages in succession, is almost inconsistent with a connected and lucid chain of argument; with a brilliant peroration, or a comprehensive exposition of general principles.

And there were other causes which tended still more to corrupt the taste of preachers; of which the first was that fondness, derived from the cabbalistic Jews, of detecting an internal sense in the plainest passages of Scripture; and still more, the custom of applying such passages "by way of accommodation," to subjects the most foreign from their known meaning,—of which a good many instances may be found in Jerome, in succeeding fathers still more, and, most of all, in the divines of what are called the dark ages.

Thus, when Jerome allegorizes, in his epistle to Fabiola[h], the different ornaments of the Jewish high priest into the dif-

[h] Hieron. Op. ii. 38. 1. Ed. Francof.

ferent virtues and graces of a Christian; when Athanasius finds out the penitent thief on his cross in the second verse of the second chapter of Habakkuk; when Gregory the Great makes Jericho at once a symbol of the moon and of our mortal nature, and, above all, when Bernard derives the word diabolus from "two pockets[i]," it is difficult to believe that they can have intended these fancies as argumentative, or to prove to their hearers any thing but the talents and acuteness of their teachers. Such, however, were the favourite ornaments of Christian orators for a long lapse of ages; and this taste, which of course, by degrees, degenerated into mere quibbling, was not yet extinct, as we learn from Echard's Contempt of the Clergy, in England during the life of Taylor, and prevailed, if we may believe the author of "Fray Gerundio," in Spain at a much later period.

Another cause which materially contributed to detract from the elegance and eloquence of sermons, was the slavish subjection under which all Christendom was brought by the schoolmen, whose dicta were quoted as, in all cases, a definitive authority, and whose subtle distinctions and endless subdivisions were, no less than their peculiar and technical phraseology, made the model of style as well as the landmarks of intellect.

I am far, indeed, from being inclined to join in an indiscriminate neglect or ridicule of those laborious and able men, whose works, to judge from a very small acquaintance with them, are often models of fair and patient investigation, and whose errors are rather from their imperfect means of knowledge than from any defect in (what they principally professed) their mode of arranging knowledge already acquired. Still farther am I from considering a familiarity with the forms and principles of logic as otherwise than most advantageous to whoever would think accurately or express himself with clearness.

But the unseasonable application and ostentatious production of these studies, as the first perplexed an eminent truth in a multiplicity of insignificant distinctions, so the second resembled the fault of those unskilful painters who strip the skins from their figures, that the muscles and

[i] Note (UU.)

anatomy may be admired. The accuracy of the skeleton should be traced in the correct proportion of the perfect limbs; the logical precision of the orator should be felt in the invulnerable nature of his arguments; but neither the bones nor the syllogisms need be exposed to view, in the finished picture or the finished oration. Yet thus unprofitably minute, thus repulsively scholastic, are by far the greater part of the most eminent divines from the middle ages down to the civil war; while those others who, like the Franciscans, the early reformers, and the puritans, found a more popular style indispensably necessary to their purposes, sought popularity in a homeliness of language and allusion; in a merriment misapplied, and a robust and striking, but rustic familiarity with sacred things, which often impresses us with its vigour and amuses us with its quaintness; though, at the present day, no preacher in his senses would venture on it, nor would any audience endure it. Even when the usual style of other compositions was singularly flowing and majestic, these errors of stiffness or bad taste continued long to cleave to the pulpit; and though the homilies of the church are an early and illustrious exception, abundant specimens of all the several faults which I have noticed may be found in most sermons from the Reformation down to the time of Taylor.

Of these very faults, indeed, though he himself, in his subsequent works, has almost entirely escaped the contagion, we find, in his earliest Sermon, on the Gunpowder Treason, some evident traces, though, even here, they are blended with and redeemed by merits, which gave ample promise of the fruit which his maturer years might supply.

The text is that verse of St. Luke, (chapter ix. verse 54,) in which the disciples of our Lord ask permission to call down fire from heaven on the inhospitable Samaritan villagers. In applying this passage to the event which he commemorates, he proposes to discuss, first, the *persons by whom*, in either case respectively, (that of the instance recorded in the Gospel and that of the gunpowder conspiracy,) the proposition was made to bring destruction on men of a different religion: secondly, the reasons alleged for such a proposition: thirdly, the persons to whom the proposition was made: fourthly, the nature of the propo-

sition itself: fifthly, the example or precedent which was pleaded for it.

Here is enough, and more than enough, of the formality of scholastic arrangement; but I fear we shall not find much of the clearness and accuracy which alone can make such a formal arrangement valuable. Of these heads, the greater number are merely solemn trifling, inasmuch as the answers to them are either too self-evident to admit of discussion, or too remote in their bearing on the general course of his argument to be valuable to the purposes of a logician. The *last* topic of inquiry, (the example or precedent of Elias,) which might have been made extremely interesting and instructive, as involving the same grand question of religious persecution which Taylor afterwards discussed so ably, he, in this place, merely notices without any discussion whatever. In treating of the remainder, and in comparing the relative situation of the apostles and the Romish clergy, he is not satisfied with the real point of similarity in both being professed followers of the Messiah; but runs into a string of frigid conceits to show that the proposal was in both instances of *apostolic* origin, inasmuch as, though the immediate contrivers of the powder plot were laymen, yet the Church of Rome (originally founded by the apostle Peter,) having allowed and applauded similar acts of atrocity, had given the first encouragement to such a project! Taylor may be thought to have forgotten both the new and the old organon when he quibbled thus egregiously; but this was the style of ornament in favour with his age, of which I have prepared the reader to expect some instances, and which was, in fact, intended to prove nothing but the wit and ingenuity of the preacher.

This trifling is, however, mixed up with much graver and more powerful matter. The proofs which he advances to show the opinion of the Romish church as to the legality of deposing and destroying heretical sovereigns, (from Saunders, who advised a crusade against them, to Emanuel Sa, who justified their assassination, and Mariana, who recommended poison, as the surest means of accomplishing it,) are, unhappily, but too cogent and conclusive. But these are here clearly out of their place, and, according to his own proposed arrangement, belong more

properly to the second branch of the inquiry; in which, (after examining and combating the causes alleged by the Romanists themselves for the atrocious attempt in question, and the general disaffection of their party, which led them to it,) he insists, that it is futile to speak of our severities as having been the occasion of the gunpowder-plot; when their own accursed principles, if not necessarily or universally, yet naturally and regularly conducted and compelled them, even as a matter of reason and conscience, to the dethronement and destruction, by any and every means, of heretical sovereigns and senates.

In combating, however, the pretexts for discontent alleged by the Papists, as arising from the conduct of the English government towards their sect, the preacher is not altogether successful. Thus, the fine imposed on recusants for not attending the public worship of the national church, he endeavours to clear from the stain of religious persecution, by urging that such recusancy could not have proceeded from religious motives. The Romanists, he observes, had actually and usually attended the service of the Church of England, from the first to the eleventh year of Queen Elizabeth, when Pius the Fifth sent forth his bull for the excommunication and dethronement of that princess. "It is plain," he argues, "that religion did not make them absent themselves from our churches, unless they had changed their religion since the bull came over. For, if religion could consist with their communicating with us before the bull, (as it is plain it did,) then why not after the bull, unless it be part of their religion to obey the Pope rather than God, commanding us to obey our prince?"

This is, surely, a quibble unworthy both of the cause and its advocate. Taylor knew perfectly well that it *is* a part of the religion of the sect in question to deny that God has given to the temporal prince any power whatever, "circa res sacras," and to believe that all authority of this kind, under God, was centered in the Pope alone. And he must have perceived that, though they might lawfully attend the ordinances of the national religion, so long as that religion was tolerated or not condemned by the Pope; and though, in acting thus, they showed a laudable desire to obey their temporal sovereign as far as possible, yet, when the king and

the Pope issued contrary mandates on such subjects, they were bound by their religion to obey the latter rather than the former. The question was not, whether they acted reasonably in receiving and maintaining such an article of faith,—but whether this *was* an article of faith for acting on which they were punished; and, this being certain, it is altogether as certain that the mulct imposed on the popish recusants was, to all intents and purposes, "soul-money," and liable, as such, to all the unanswerable objections which Taylor has himself elsewhere brought forward against the principle of persecution for conscience sake.

He is more fortunate, however, in his apology for the severities denounced against the publishers of the bull in question, and against the toleration of the Romish priests in a land whose tranquillity their daily conduct menaced. The publication of the bull was evidently seditious, and what no sovereign could endure without virtually renouncing the sovereignty. The priests were the avowed agents of a foreign and hostile potentate, and had already begun those practices against the authority and life of the queen, which were only rendered more atrocious by the fact that they were many of them her native subjects. And, in the exposure which follows of the language held, the doctrines sanctioned, and the line of conduct pursued by the Romish hierarchy towards Elizabeth and other princes similarly situated, the author may be said to have almost justified the severe reprobation with which he winds up this part of his discourse, that "so far from its being strange that their people call for fire to consume the Protestants, it would be rather a wonder if they did not;" and that, "although it be no rare or unusual a thing for a Papist to be, *de facto*, loyal and duteous to his prince, yet it is a wonder he is so, since such doctrines have been taught by such masters."

In considering the persons to whom the contrivers of the plot intrusted their intentions, their confessors, namely, and spiritual guides, he discusses at some length, and with great learning and acuteness, the question of how far those confessors were bound to conceal or disclose the horrible secret communicated to them. He maintains, first, that the communication made to Garnet did not come under the character of a confession at all in the ecclesiastical sense of the

term; inasmuch as it was not the acknowledgment of a sin already passed and then repented of, but the proposition of a measure prospectively determined on, which the propounders did not regard as sinful, but on the expediency of which they consulted their spiritual guides; and which, notwithstanding the contrary opinion of those guides, they still continued to meditate. It was allowable, therefore, in Garnet and his brethren, even on their own principles; and, if allowable, it was, on every principle of justice and charity, incumbent on them to disclose the crime which they had no other means of preventing.

But this is not all: for, secondly, he examines into the antiquity and authority of that rule which they pretend for the inviolable secrecy and sanctity of confession; and proves most triumphantly, from the admission of the best casuists of their own sect, that there are certain cases in which confessions may and must be divulged: as, where it is necessary to prevent an incestuous marriage; to bring to light a lurking heresy; or where the penitent himself allows the confessor to reveal his secret. But treason, he argues, is, at least, as criminal and dangerous as incest or heresy; and, if the permission of the individual dispenses with the oath of the priest, much more will this be the effect of the prior relation in which both priest and penitent stand to the nation of which they are members, and the sovereign to whom they owe allegiance. And, in the particular case of treason, he shows that, both in France and at Rome, it has been usual and always accounted allowable to reveal such confessions as involved the death of the sovereign. And that the obligation to keep all confession secret, rests, in fact, on no other or stronger sanction than that which binds every good man to conceal, in ordinary cases, a secret imparted to him, he shows, by the ancient practice of both the Eastern and Western Churches. Both these, he observes, not only authorized, but, in some instances, enjoined the priest to reveal to the whole congregation whatever more crying sins had been, under this seal, communicated to him. He proves that it was, at one time, esteemed the duty of the confessor to impart to the church *all* the transgressions which thus came to his knowledge; and that the decree of St. Leo, which relaxed this inconvenient obligation, ex-

tended no farther than to permit and enjoin the priest, at his discretion, to keep *some* sins secret, " lest men, out of inordinate love to themselves, should rather refuse to be washed than buy their purity with so much shame." He concludes, therefore, that the confessors of Digby and his associates were bound, on every principle of their own canons, and of general Christianity, to divulge the meditated treason.

The rest of the sermon is occupied in descanting on the nature and enormity of the destruction which was contemplated, and he concludes with a pathetic exhortation to thankfulness and piety.

Of the affectation and frigid pedantry which pervaded most of the writings of that age, and from which Taylor, in his subsequent works, to a great degree emancipated himself, several instances may be found in this sermon. Sometimes the preacher indulges himself in the use of foreign terms and modish barbarisms, such as no judicious orator would introduce into a solemn or pathetic composition. " There is fire in the text," he tells us, " consuming fire, like that whose *antevorta* we this day commemorate." After the coming of the Messiah, the spirit of Elias is said to be " *out of date*;" and in the Jesuits, " we may quickly find out more than a *pareil* for St. James and St. John, the Boanerges of the text." Such terms as these have neither the homely vigour of colloquial English, nor the pomp and gravity of derivatives from the learned languages: — they were, in their day, the mere cant of travelled foppery, and were the last remnants of that Babylonish euphuism, which, from the example of the court, had infected the language of the bar, the parliament, and the pulpit.

Sometimes, in his attempt, (a very needless one,) to exaggerate the enormity of the transaction, he lays a stress on circumstances in themselves merely indifferent. If a base and cowardly destruction of the whole nobility of a country were resolved on, it mattered little or nothing by what agent their death was to be effected. Taylor, however, is of a different opinion, and makes it a leading aggravation of the crime of the conspirators, that they designed to employ so devilish an agent as gunpowder. The apostles,

he tells us, " would have had their fire from heaven, but these men's conversation was not there! Τα κατωθεν, things from beneath, from an artificial hell, but breathed from the natural and proper, were in all their thoughts!" Sometimes the preacher is facetious — " If his Holiness be wronged in the business, I have no hand in it. The speech was avouched for as authentic by the approbation of three doctors. Let them answer it. I wash my hands of the accusation." — Again: " If to their anathemas they add some faggots of their own and gunpowder, *'tis odds* but we may be consumed indeed!"

There are other passages, however, far more in the usual and appropriate style of Taylor, and which should abundantly redeem this earliest of his writings from indiscriminate neglect or censure. That cause, he says, bore a fair excuse, which moved James and John to a wrath so inconsiderate. " It would have disturbed an excellent patience to see Him whom, but just before, they beheld transfigured in a glorious epiphany upon the mount, to be so neglected by a company of hated Samaritans as to be forced to keep his vigils where nothing but the welkin should have been his roof, nor any thing to shelter his precious head from the descending dews of heaven." — " When first," he shortly afterwards observes, " when first I considered they were apostles, I wondered that they should be so intemperately angry. But, when I perceived they were so angry, I wondered not that they sinned. Not the privilege of an apostolical spirit, not the nature of angels, not the condition of immortality, can guard from the danger of sin; but, if we are over-ruled by passion, we almost subject ourselves to its necessity. It was not, therefore without reason, that the Stoics affirmed wise men to be void of passions; for, sure I am, the inordination of any passion is the first step to folly. And, although of them, as of waters of a muddy residence, we may make good use, and quench our thirst, if we do not trouble them; yet, upon any ungentle disturbance, we drink down mud instead of a clear stream, and the issues of sin and sorrow, certain consequents of a temerarious or inordinate anger."

In the conclusion, after instancing " the sacrilegious ruins of the neighbouring temples, which must needs have

perished in the flame,"—"the disturbing the ashes of our entombed kings, devouring their bodies like sepulchral dogs;" and observing that "these are but minutes in respect of the ruin prepared for the living temples," he proceeds:

> "Stragem sed istam non tulit
> Christus, cadentum principum
> Impune, ne forsan sui
> Patris periret fabrica.
>
> "Ergo quæ potuit lingua retexere
> Laudes, Christe, tuas, qui domitum struis,
> Infidum populum cum duce perfido[k]."

"Let us, then, return to God the cup of thanksgiving, he having poured forth so largely to us of the cup of salvation!—We cannot want wherewithal to fill it. Here is matter enough for an eternal thankfulness, for the expression of which a short life is too little; but let us here begin our hallelujahs, hoping to finish them hereafter, where the many choirs of angels will fill the concert[l]."

On this first production of Jeremy Taylor's abilities I have bestowed a large, and what may seem perhaps to some, a disproportionate share of notice. But it is his first production. Its very faults belong to the history of the time, and increase our respect for his subsequent and more illustrious labours; and the topics which it discusses are of no slight or transient importance; but have reference to disputes of which we are not likely to see the end, to principles which, in every age of the church, are important. And, though his style had not yet received its full polish, and though his arguments are, in some instances, not well concocted, the facts which he has collected in the history and philosophy of religion are such as to mark his Sermon on the Gunpowder Treason for one of the most important and powerful attacks on the Jesuits and the Romish hierarchy.

This sermon, which at first appeared separately, was never, I believe, reprinted by Taylor during his life-time. His next publication of the same kind was a collection of fifty-two Sermons, described as "a Yearly Course," or Ενιαυτος, divided into two volumes, for the winter and summer half

[k] Note (I.) [l] Vol. vi. p. 625.

years; of which that was first published which now stands last in order. Why he thus denominated them I am at a loss to conjecture; since, with the exception of two Sermons for Whitsunday, and three on the Advent of Christ to Judgment, there are none which, either by text or matter, are more adapted to one day than another; while even the solemn festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Trinity, are passed over without any particular notice. Nor is this deficiency supplied by any of the sermons in the supplement: these are, with three exceptions which might have been preached at any time, preached on different local topics, or before different public bodies; but none of them are for those days when an appropriate composition is ordinarily called for by the practice of the Church of England. The cause of this singularity I cannot conjecture. If he had not named Whitsunday, it might have been ascribed to a necessary compliance with the prejudices of the faction then in power, whose aversion from all such ecclesiastical distinction of days is sufficiently known to have been excessive. But, when one festival of the Church was named, it could have, in this respect, availed him nothing to pass over the others in silence; and in his other writings he has paid no such respect to the prejudices of his contemporaries. I own, I regret the want of some such discourses in the present collection; because, with Taylor's peculiar talent for whatever is picturesque or poetical in religion, we might have anticipated from him some very splendid displays of oratory and pathos, when discussing those awful images of power, of mercy, aud of suffering, which the return of days like these is intended to recal more forcibly. And when it is recollected how greatly we have most of us been affected, by the conformity observed between the day and its devotions; the Scriptures read, and the sermons preached on such occasions, we may well conceive to how good purpose these advantages must have been employed by the impassioned and affectionate eloquence of Jeremy Taylor.

Nor is this the only circumstance which may, at first, surprise us. It may still more excite our wonder that such sermons as these should have been addressed to any but an audience exclusively academical. An university alone,

and an university of no ordinary erudition, appears the fitting theatre for discourses crowded, as these are, with quotations from the classics and the fathers; with allusions to the most recondite topics of moral and natural philosophy; with illustrations drawn from all the arts and sciences, and from history ancient and modern, clothed in a language rich and harmonious, indeed, beyond all contemporary writers, but abounding in words of foreign extraction, and in unusual applications of those which are of native origin. Nor should I have hesitated to conclude, that most of Taylor's sermons had been really composed and intended only for an academical audience, had not the author himself informed us, in his title-page and his dedication to Lord Carbery, that they were preached at Golden Grove, to the family and domestics of his patron; or, at most, to a few gentlemen and ladies of that secluded neighbourhood, and to as many of the peasantry on the estate as could understand English. It is true, perhaps, that in those days a learned style of preaching was not only more frequently affected by divines, but more generally popular with their auditories than it has been during the last century; and that they who could least understand a sermon, were not, therefore, the least ready to applaud it. The popularity of some preachers has descended to our times, who seem to have had scarcely any other stock in trade than a quantity of good and sufficient Greek and Hebrew quotations; while, on the other hand, the simplicity and unaffected plainness of the admirably learned Pocock was regarded, by the rustics of his parish, as a proof that, "though a kind and neighbourly man, he was no Latinist." Taylor, however, had no need of such arts, and was by far too conscientious to employ them. He was too good, as well as too wise; too earnestly intent on amending the hearts and saving the souls of his hearers, to have amused their ears with that which could not reach their understanding; and I am therefore much inclined to believe, that, in preparing his sermons for the press, he materially changed them from the compositions which he had delivered to his rustic auditory in South Wales; or, that they had really been, in the first instance, designed for the university pulpit; and that, when preaching them at Golden Grove, he had recourse to such extemporaneous

omissions or alterations as suited the abilities and circumstances of his congregation.

Such omissions or alterations would, in fact, leave the essential merits of the discourse in a great measure unimpaired. The tenor of its reasoning would remain unbroken, though the recondite illustrations were withdrawn. Those illustrations and images which, as is the case with no small number in Taylor's works, are borrowed from natural objects, would produce a yet more powerful effect in proportion as those objects were familiar to his hearers. The practical wisdom of his counsels; his awful denunciations of God's judgments against sin; his admirable topics of consolation to the penitent; his affectionate earnestness, and his yet more persuasive piety, would lose none of their power if delivered in more homely language; and those persons are mistaken, who apprehend that a congregation in the humble ranks of life are unequal to the task of following up the most accurate chain of reasoning, if conveyed in words of which they know the meaning. To lay down a general rule for the selection of such a popular language is not, indeed, very easy; but it will be found, for the most part, that words of Saxon or Teutonic derivation, as they are more forcible and expressive to all English ears, so to an uninstructed English ear they are usually far more intelligible than those terms, (however familiar to the educated part of the nation,) which are of French or Latin origin.

But whatever the sermons of Taylor may have been, as delivered from the pulpit and to a miscellaneous or vulgar auditory, it is certain that, as essays for the closet, and as intended for those into whose hands they usually fall, few compositions can be named so eminently distinguished by fancy, by judgment, by learning, and by powers of reasoning; few, where the mind is so irresistibly allured, if not to agree with the author, at least to think well of him; or where so much luxuriance of imagination, and so much mellowness of style, are made the vehicles of divinity so sound, and holiness so practical. Those persons will, in fact, be much deceived, (they may be, perhaps, deceived to their own infinite advantage,) who take up his sermons as a book of amusement only; in which little is to be found but quaint singularities of expression, and pedantic, though brilliant and

characteristic ornament. As little will those do justice to their merits, who draw back from their perusal in the expectation of finding precepts too rigid and ascetic for our nature or the general frame of society; the dicta of one who had forgotten or never experienced the temptations of the world, or the inexpediency of laying down an impracticable measure of duty. No writer, with whose works I am acquainted, has spoken more wisely, or with a greater knowledge of the human heart; none more moderately, or (except in those particulars where the souls of men are really endangered,) more indulgently, than Taylor in his Ενιαυτος; and, while his sermons on "Godly Fear" lay bare with a needful and scrupulous austerity the ruinous self-deceptions of a pretended repentance, and of that transient sorrow for sin or its consequences, which too many mistake for amendment, no writer has given a more just and beautiful picture of the goodness and gentleness of our Almighty Parent, than may be found in his discourses on the Miracles of the Divine Mercy[m]." Of the rest, the "House of Feasting," and the "Marriage Ring," are perhaps the most characteristic, and distinguished by the greatest liveliness of fancy; while a very curious and difficult question is acutely and profitably discussed in the sermon on "the Entail of Curses." And, (though some of his positions are here, as on former occasions, laid down with too great and unqualified severity,) many awful and alarming truths are powerfully expressed, where he is treating of what he considers "The Invalidity of a Death-bed Repentance." Of all, the most likely to be practically useful are, perhaps, the two on "the Flesh and the Spirit," and those on the "Growth of Sin, and the several Estates of Sinners." All, however, may be read with profit; and, by a man of genius, none can be read without delight and admiration.

To the Ενιαυτος the Δεκας ἐμβολιμαιος appeared as a supplement, several years after, with a Dedication to the high-minded and stately Dutchess of Ormond; who, though profuse in her expenses, and haughty in her demeanour, was fond of religious reading, and really endowed with many distinguished and some amiable qualities. It consists, (1),

[m] Vol. v. p. 98.; Vol. vi. p. 168. et seq.

of three Sermons on subjects referring to general practice, preached in Christ Church, Dublin, but adapted to any occasion and to any well-informed audience. (2). Three Sermons on Public Occasions, already spoken of, at an Episcopal Consecration, before the Irish Parliament, and before the University of Dublin; (3.) Two Funeral Sermons, on the Death of the Primate, and on that of the Countess of Carbery; and, (4.) Two, to the Clergy of his Diocese, on the duties of the Christian Ministry. They are followed, in the present edition, by his first published sermon, and by the Funeral Sermon in Memory of Sir George Dalstone. Of these, the Sermons preached before the Parliament and the University of Dublin have been sufficiently noticed, as well as the Funeral Sermon on Archbishop Bramhall: they are parts, indeed, of Taylor's public life, and could not, without impropriety, be separated from it. For the rest, those preached at the Funerals of Lady Carbery and Sir George Dalstone, are remarkable not only for the beauty of their language and imagery, (in which respect the former is not surpassed by any of his most elaborate productions,) but for the powerful and persuasive manner in which, while rendering due honour to the dead, they warn and instruct the living, and improve the moments of grief and serious thought to the lasting advantage of their hearers.

In other compositions of a similar character, we often find the main body of the discourse engrossed by a laboured panegyric; while the religious lesson is crowded into a narrow corner, and treated as an accessary only. Such funeral sermons as these can lay claim to no further merit than belongs to a hatband or a mourning-ring,—mere testimonies of respect and regret, in which the friends of the deceased alone are concerned; or which have, at best, no general value but what arises from the material or the workmanship.

But in the labours of Taylor, the foremost place was always given to the glory of God and the salvation of his hearers. From the death of his patroness, he takes occasion, (in the first instance, and before he describes her virtues,) to enlarge, in a strain of moving eloquence, on the uncertainty of life, and the method of enabling ourselves to meet death hopefully. And his account of Sir George

Dalstone is introduced by an able and interesting inquiry on the sources whence the heathen obtained their knowledge of a life to come; on the usual lot of holy men in the present life; and on the abode and condition of the soul between death and the resurrection.

The two Sermons on the "Minister's Duty in Life and Doctrine," may yet call for some observations; inasmuch as, in the first of these, while enforcing, with much earnest and awful eloquence, the paramount necessity of personal holiness in the clergy, he has been hurried to a length inconsistent with sound reason, with the analogy of Scripture and the usual faith of Christians.

After magnifying, in a strain which is not unusual with him, the dignity of the ministerial office, by the consideration that, as Christians in general are chosen and sanctified from the world, so the clergy are chosen and sanctified from the general body of Christians, he urges, with great force and justice, that,—

"If, of every one of the Christian congregation, God expects a holiness that mingles with no unclean thing;" —"If he accepts of none of the people, unless they have within them the conjugation of all the Christian graces;"— "If he hath made them lights in the world, and salt of the earth, to enlighten others with their good example, and to teach them and invite them by holy discourses and wise counsels;"—"What is it, think ye, or with what words is it possible to express what God requires of you? They are to be examples of good life to one another; but you are to be examples even of the examples themselves [a]."

This is as true as it is eloquent and awful. He also urges, with great reason, that a wicked life is the greatest impediment to the success of any man's ministry; inasmuch as his bad conscience is a continued reproof of his own teaching, and his bad example a no less continued dissuasive to his people's learning. Him, therefore, who teaches what he does not practise, he describes as "sitting in the chair of the scornful;" as "mocking God, and mocking the people;" as "destroying the benefits of the people, and diminishing the blessings of God."

[a] Vol. vi. p. 490.

What follows, however, is of more doubtful character: "This is but the least evil: there is yet much worse behind. A wicked minister cannot, with success and benefit, pray for the people of his charges."—"This is the priest's office; and if the people lose the benefits of this, they are undone."—"What, then, do you think will be the event of those assemblies, where he that presents the prayers of all the people, is hateful to God? Will God receive the oblation that is offered to him by an impure hand; and can we hope that the minister who, with wrath, and doubting, and covetousness, presents the people's prayers, that even those intercessions shall pierce the clouds and ascend the mercy-seat, and descend with a blessing?"—"The ecclesiastical order is by Christ appointed to minister his Holy Spirit to the people; the priests in baptism, and the holy eucharist, and prayer, and intercession; the bishop in all these, and in ordination beside, and in confirmation, and in solemn blessing. Now, then, consider what will be the event of this without effect: Can he minister the Spirit, from whom the Spirit of God is departed[o]?" &c.

It is hardly necessary to point out the inconsistency of such a statement with the doctrine laid down by the Church of England in her 26th article, or with all our usual notions of the justice and mercy of that God, who can never, it may be presumed, allow the devotions of his people to be vitiated by offences over which they have no control, and for which they have no remedy.

Of this, Taylor himself seems sensible, when he admits that, "without his own fault, no man shall perish;" that, "He that says amen, if he heartily desire what the other perfunctorily and with his lips only utters, not praying with his heart and with the acceptabilities of a good life, the amen shall be more than all the prayer, and the people shall prevail for themselves when the priest could not[p]."

The misfortune is, that he speaks of this aid and comfort of the Holy Ghost, which the believing assistant shall obtain, notwithstanding the sins of his priest, as something "extraordinary" and "irregular;" as if God, in this case,

[o] Vol. vi. p. 497. [p] Ibid. p. 501.

"did his work alone;" as if the Spirit came "in ways of his own, and *prevented* the external rites and *prepossessed* the hearts of his servants," while the people became, under such circumstances, their own priests, and got "nothing or but very little by the ministration of their minister;" or even, as he elsewhere expresses it, "the prayers of innocent people, being presented by an ungracious minister and intercessor, were very much hindered in prevailing."

Now, it is plain that this principle, if carried to its full but legitimate extent, would overturn all church government whatever; since, if the people get "nothing or but very little from the ministry of the priest," there can be no reason for attending on that ministry. Every man who found, or fancied he found, some human frailty in the "angel of his congregation," would be justified in withdrawing from a place where "his prayers were very much hindered in prevailing." And if, under such circumstances, "themselves also become priests unto God," it is evident that their solitary devotions, or devotion offered by them in conventicles, would be so far from schismatical, that they would be in the likeliest course to be accepted. If this had been true, the Israelites would have done well in "abhorring the offering of the Lord," when Hophni and Phineas ministered at his altar; which yet, we find, was so far from being the case, that it was charged as an additional sin on these profane sacrificers, that "they made the Lord's people to *transgress*." "The Scribes and Pharisees," said our Lord, "sit in Moses' seat; whatsoever therefore they say unto you, that do and observe, but after their works do ye not."

The truth is, that Taylor has strangely confounded the *personal* with the *official* character of the minister; that character by which he is himself to stand or fall, with that which he possesses as the appointed instrument of God's mercies, and in consequence of the covenant between Christ and the whole congregation of the faithful. The *personal* and *private* prayers of a wicked priest must, certainly, fail of their effect, or bring down a curse instead of a blessing. But his *public* and *ministerial* prayers are not his own, but those of the great body of his constituents, which he, in their names, and as their organ, offers to God; while, on the other hand, the spiritual graces which he

conveys in the sacrament are not his own, (perhaps he may have no share in them) but the bounty of God, of which he is the unworthy channel.

It is, indeed, most true that the priest is bound to pray for the people not only publicly but privately, not only in his official but also in his personal capacity. And as, in the discharge of his ministerial function, he prays on his own behalf as well as theirs, the obligation is most powerful which rests on those of our profession, so to frame our lives that our devotion may be acceptable. The fervent prayer of any righteous man availeth much, and the public service of the church may avail the more when he who pronounces it is one whom the Almighty hears with favour. But though the prayers of the whole body may *gain* force, from the intercessions of a holy minister, they cannot be supposed to *lose* their proper efficacy, though the congregation should be less fortunate in their prolocutor.

I admit that in all cases where the people are in any degree answerable for their minister's guilt, they are likely to derive no advantage from his ministry. If he has departed from the church, and they support him in his schism; if, knowing his life or doctrine to be scandalous, they elect him in the first instance as their functionary; or if they refuse or neglect to complain of him to those superiors who have power to correct or displace him, the sin is theirs as well as his, and they have reason to fear that such answers only will be given to their prayers as petitions usually receive when sent by an obnoxious messenger.

But, where the people have no knowledge of the crime, or can obtain no redress or abatement of the scandal; when the function is not only public, but recognised by God's word and the authority of ecclesiastical superiors, that cannot be imputed to them as a fault which is only their great misfortune: nor can the mutual communication of prayer and grace be impeded by the unworthiness of the channel, any more than the bad character of a public carrier can vitiate the letters which pass through his hands. In the instance already mentioned, Hannah prayed and was accepted, though the sacrificers were sons of Belial.

Nor can it be said with truth that, where no remedy is to be had, the people "get nothing or very little" by attendance

on the ministry of a wicked person. Through his ministry they may, surely, obtain the ordinary means of grace, "the sacraments generally necessary to salvation:" they may offer up their prayers, through his ministry, under the circumstances to which a peculiar blessing and the especial presence of Christ is promised. The very unworthiness of their elder may be improved into an opportunity of exercising their faith, their obedience, and their charity; their faith, as relying on God alone for the performance of his gracious promises; their obedience, as complying with the commanded rite under discouraging and disgusting circumstances; their charity, as bearing with their brother's faults, as praying with him, and for him. But while such as these may, by God's grace, reap grapes from thorns and figs from thistles, "they who have preached to them," (to use Taylor's own words,) "shall have the curse of Hananeel and the reward of Balaam, the wages of unrighteousness. But thus it was, when the wise men asked the doctors where Christ should be born; they told them right; but the wise men went to Christ and found him; and the doctors sate still and went not."

The rest of the first discourse, and the whole of the second, are unexceptionable in point of theology; and, in piety, learning, eloquence, and good sense, are admirable. Nothing can be more awful than the manner in which he concludes his first Sermon, with a description of the labour, the difficulty, the danger, and, on the other hand, the blessedness of the ministerial office; with a warning that many things are lawful for the people which are scandalous in the clergy, and that the common life of the one must exceed the piety of the other. "Remember," he exclaims to his clerical hearers; "Remember your dignity to which Christ hath called you!" "Shall such a man as I flee?" said the brave Eleazar,—"shall the stars be darkness,—shall the ambassadors of Christ neglect to do their king honour,—shall the glory of Christ do dishonourable and inglorious actions?" "Ye are the glory of Christ," saith St. Paul; "remember that! I can say no greater thing; unless possibly this may add some moments for your care and caution, that 'potentes potenter cruciabuntur[q]!'"

It was thus that Taylor pressed on the consciences

[q] Vol. vi. p. 506.

of his brethren, "not only to be innocent and void of offence, but also to be holy; not only pure, but shining; not only to be blameless, but to be didactic in your lives; that as, by your Sermons, you preach in season, so, by your lives, you may preach out of season, that is, at all seasons, and to all men, that they, seeing your good works, may glorify God, on your behalf and on their own!"

His second Sermon, on the Doctrine of Ministers, may surprise a modern divine by the little remembered names of those authors whose commentaries he recommends, and whose works are now of no frequent occurrence in any but college libraries. There are not many scholars of the present day who owe very many or very great obligations to "Sixtus Senensis,"—to "the excellent book of Hugo de Sancto Victore,"—to "the Prolegomena of Serarius,"—"Andreas Hyperius,"—or the "Hypotoposes of Martinus Cantipratensis." It may excite, also, some surprise that no English work is named, and that those of Erasmus, Castellio, Melancthon, and Grotius, are passed over in silence. Those will be, however, agreeably disappointed, who anticipate, from the honour paid to these obsolete writers, an obsolete, and, for modern times, an unprofitable rationale of doctrine. No work that I am acquainted with displays more sound and enlarged views of scriptural interpretation: in none of equal length are so many useful hints afforded for the choice of subjects;—the avoiding of useless controversies;—the inculcation of truth in the manner least likely to provoke hostility;—the deference to authority which a Christian teacher should always display;—and the avoiding of all such topics as "serve a temporal end," or blend "a design of state" with religion.

But for these I must refer my readers to the discourses themselves, convinced that I shall be well entitled to their thanks, if I have now first introduced them to their notice. I have, indeed, been the more exact in noticing their single error, on account of their numerous excellencies, and because I was unwilling that a misapprehension of so much importance should pass current under the authority of such a writer, or that it should derogate from the utility of what I conceive to be one of his ablest and most useful compositions.[r]

[r] Note (WW.)

Of the second class of his writings, namely, the Theological, the earliest in date is the Defence of Episcopacy, published in 1642, soon after the king's retirement to Oxford. In gracefulness of diction, in richness of imagery, and in that warmth and kindliness of feeling which is in a great measure Taylor's peculiar characteristic, it is inferior, as might well be expected, to such of his writings as relate immediately to morals or devotion. It is also less metaphysical, in the highest sense of the term, less distinguished by enlarged views of the human mind, and the limits between circumstantials and essentials, than the Rule of Conscience or the Liberty of Prophesying.

But it is, at least, a specimen of manly and moderate disputation; of a variety of learning, such as, even in that learned age, few other writers have brought to bear upon the same subject; and of a style vigorous and elastic, which, both in taste and energy, leaves far behind it the greater number of contemporary theologians, and only falls short of that which few, indeed, have equalled, the sustained and majestic harmony of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity.

Of the arguments, however, which he has advanced in favour of an institution which, through life, he regarded with more than common veneration, there are not many which strike me as new; and, in the few particulars where he has taken a different ground from that generally occupied by the assertors of episcopal government, I am not sure that he has been fortunate.

He sets out with asserting the absolute necessity that some form of church government should be found laid down in Scripture; an assertion of precisely the same kind with that which was maintained by the Puritans in the reign of Elizabeth, and which was so ably refuted by Hooker in the third book of his immortal work already referred to. The reasons, indeed, on which Taylor rests his position are as unsound as the position itself is, prima facie, questionable. "If," he urges, "for our private actions and duties œconomical, they will pretend a text, I suppose it will not be thought possible Scripture should make default in assignation of the public government, insomuch as all laws intend the public and the

general directly, the private and the particular by consequence only and comprehension within the general[*]."

But this argument, if it proves any thing, will prove too much, and will send us to our Bibles for the model not only of ecclesiastical but of civil regimen; inasmuch as the cases are both the same, and, in both, the presumption, if there were any, would be equal, that the general good should be provided for before the individual. We find, however, in fact, that, while the duties of individuals are marked out, in both the Old and New Testament, in the broadest characters and with the most scrupulous care, those individuals are left entirely to themselves and the decision of their own reason as to the manner in which they are to unite into nations or clans for mutual protection, and as to the persons and powers of those public functionaries whom they are to appoint as guardians of the general happiness and deciders of private differences. The truth is, that, however we may deceive ourselves with the term of an imaginary public, whom we dress up in the attributes of a real personage, and to whom we ascribe, in common speech, an existence and an interest distinct from those individuals of whom it is, in fact, only the collective name, no wise lawgiver will attempt to separate public from private happiness and virtue, or expect to obtain an aggregate of prosperity any otherwise than by consulting the prosperity of those individuals of whom that aggregate is made up. The moral laws, accordingly, (to which Taylor would hardly have denied a precedence over all other institutions,) not incidentally or mediately, but in the first instance, respect the conduct of individuals. And as all other laws, whether relating to forms of government or the internal regulations of society, are, in fact, modal and instrumental only, in order to the due discharge and observance of these higher and more holy obligations, it is reasonable that God, having taught us these last, should leave us, as, in nine instances out of ten, he has confessedly left us, to pursue, by such means as our human experience and natural faculties point out, the ends which his revelation has set before us.

[*] Episcopacy Asserted, sect. 1. vol. vii. p. 7.

But Taylor goes on to urge that, "if Christ himself did not take order for a government, then we must derive it from human prudence and emergency of conveniences, and concourse of new circumstances, and then the government must often be changed, or else time must stand still, and things be ever in the same state and possibility. Both the consequents," he tells us, "are extremely full of inconvenience. For, if it be left to human prudence, then either the government of the church is not in immediate order to the good and benison of souls, or, if it be that such an institution, in such immediate order to eternity, should be dependent upon human prudence, it were to trust such a rich commodity in a cock-boat, that no wise pilot will be supposed to do. But, if there be often changes in government ecclesiastical, (which was the other consequent,) in the public frame, I mean, and constitution of it; either the certain infinity of schisms will arise, or the dangerous issues of public inconsistence and innovation, which, in matters of religion, is good for nothing but to make men distrust all; and, come the best that can come, there will be so many church governments as there are human prudences[1]."

In the first of these supposed consequences, Taylor assumes that "the government of the church is in *immediate* order to the good and benison of souls." But this is plainly untrue, since for this great end nothing more is *immediately* necessary (speaking always in subordination to the merits and sacrifice of Christ,) but the sincere word of God, as delivered in Scripture, to enlighten and establish our *faith*, and the means of *grace*, which are afforded us in baptism and the Lord's supper. The government of the church is in *immediate* order to the faithful preaching of the truth and the decent and orderly ministration of the sacraments, but it is only through their means, and as a consequence of them, that it seeks the salvation of souls. It must rank, therefore, as Hooker wisely teaches, not among the points essential to salvation, but "those things that are accessary hereunto, those things that so belong to the way of salvation, as to alter them, is no otherwise to change that way than a path is changed by altering only the uppermost

[1] Episcopacy Asserted, sect. 1. vol. vii. p. 7.

face thereof, which, be it laid with gravel, or set with grass, or paved with stones, remaineth still the same path[u]."

To his observation respecting the danger of frequent changes or schisms, or both, it may be answered, that the risk of these in religious affairs is not greater than of mutability or rebellion in civil; and that for both these, (even supposing us left to human prudence and experience as our only guides in framing our polity,) our natural caution and our natural respect for authority are, as well as our Christian prudence and Christian charity, the proper and efficacious remedy. In the eagerness, indeed, of his argument, he does not stop with the enumeration of these probable inconveniences of the supposition which he deprecates, but pursues his consequence to an extent which would be subversive of all principles of human government, and leave no adequate means to preserve the peace of the world but a necessary tyranny or a direct theocracy. "If," he urges, "there be no opinion of religion, no derivation from a divine authority, there will be sure to be no obedience, and, indeed, nothing but a certain public, calamitous irregularity. For why should they obey? Not for conscience, for there is no derivation from divine authority. Not for fear, for they have not the power of the sword." Surely, when Taylor wrote thus, he had forgotten the apostolical precept, "Submit yourselves unto every ordinance of *man*, for the Lord's sake[x]!"

Though Christ, therefore, were admitted to have left no definite law for the manner in which his church was to be governed, and though episcopacy were allowed to stand on the single basis of human institution, there would be still abundant reason against hasty or needless change of such an institution on the part of sovereigns, as well as against schism in particular persons, on this account, and from a church which exacted no unchristian terms of communion. But, it is certain that any positive institution of Christ, if really traced to him, is obligatory on the conscience of Christians; and, if Taylor had made good his second position, that our Lord, while on earth, appointed the two distinct offices of bishop and presbyter, no doubt could

[u] Eccles. Polity, lib. iii. sect. 3. [x] 1 Pet. ii. 13.

remain but that both of these would rest on the same foundation with that of those sacraments themselves, which all men allow to be immutable.

But here, too, the author, while attempting to prove too much, has assumed facts in which he is neither borne out by antiquity, nor the tenour of the Gospel history, when he finds in the apostles, during the abode of their Lord on earth, the first bishops, and in the seventy-two disciples whom Christ also selected from his followers, the first presbyters of his church[y].

That the latter were appointed by Christ to any thing more than a temporary and occasional function, is doubted by a writer not inferior to Taylor either in judgment or learning, — and inferior to none in his ardent devotion to the primitive institution of episcopacy, — the wise and excellent Hammond[z]. That the office which they filled, even supposing it to be permanent, answered to the presbyterate, is opposed by the tradition of the church, preserved by Epiphanius (and which Taylor unsuccessfully endeavours to reconcile with his own opinion), that from their number the seven *Deacons* (or some of them at least), were afterwards selected[a]. And it is opposed, above all, by the fact, that if the seventy had been made presbyters by Christ, they would have been the equals, at least, if not the superiors, of the apostles themselves; whose priesthood, probably, and certainly their episcopacy, dates only from the time when their Divine Master sent them forth, with the Holy Ghost for their seal, from Mount Olivet, after his resurrection[b].

That the apostles, thus left in charge of the faithful, thus

[y] Luke, x. 1.

[z] Hammond, Diss. 3. De omnibus Evangeliorum periochis, cap. i. sect. 6. Op. t. iv. p. 776; ib. cap. v. sect. 5; cap. vi. sect. 1.

[a] Epiphanius Hæres. lib. i. t. i. Op. vol. i. p. 50.

[b] Some of the Romanists have, indeed, a strange fancy that Christ made the apostles priests when he instituted the eucharist. Boileau de præcept. Div. Comm. in utraque specie, p. 189. "Creavit et instituit sacerdotes his verbis, 'Hoc facite.'" — This notion is, however, justly reproved by Estius, Dist. xii. sect. 11, and Alphonsus a Castro, contr. Hæreses, tit. Euch., p. 99. In general, all Christians agree to find the ordination of the apostles in Matt. xxviii. 18., and in John xx. 22. See what Taylor himself says in his Ductor Dubitantium, vol. xiii. p. 19, et seq.

commissioned by Christ, and thus guided by the Paraclete, delegated to three different orders of men, distinct and different portions of the authority which they had themselves received; that they ordained in different parts of the world apostles or bishops like themselves; elders to act in subserviency to those bishops, and deacons to assist those elders, — the author, in what follows, has, indeed, satisfactorily established. And it is plain, that not only is the fact that episcopacy was instituted by the followers of Christ and the possessors of the Holy Spirit, sufficient to prove it neither an irrational nor unchristian form of polity, but that a very great and evident necessity must be shown, before any human hand can be authorized to pull down or alter a fabric erected under such auspices.

This, and this only, is the strong, and, if I may be allowed the expression, the impregnable ground of the episcopal scheme, and of Taylor's defence of it. It is not as thinking lightly of the advantages of that scheme, nor as underrating its real authority; far less is it as desiring to detract from the reputation of an author, whom none can read without delight and improvement, that I have ventured these few remarks on arguments to which he himself has appeared to ascribe an undue degree of value. But I have done it to prevent other champions in the same good cause, from being induced to commit the same error, and to show how needless it is to have recourse to doubtful or inapplicable proofs and presumptions, when, in an universal and apostolical tradition, every proof is contained, which can be, in such a case, desired or expected.—And, though I am far from confounding the relative value of institutions immediately authorized by Christ, immediately tending to the salvation of souls, or of visible and universal advantage to them, with those which chiefly respect ecclesiastical order,—it can hardly, I think, be denied that those churches are wisest who retain episcopacy; those sectaries least excusable who dissent from it; and that the authority of apostolical tradition cannot be reasonably rejected in this case, without endangering many other observances of Christianity, which are almost universally accounted essentials.—With some qualification as to the case of infant baptism, in favour of which there is something

very like a positive command of Christ, and respecting the Scripture proofs of which Taylor himself afterwards thought more reverently, the passage which follows, is well worthy the serious consideration of all who thoughtlessly or conscientiously impugn episcopacy.

"The sum is this. Although we had not proved the immediate divine institution of episcopal power over presbyters, and the whole flock, yet episcopacy is not less than an apostolical ordinance, and delivered to us by the same authority that the observation of the Lord's day is. For, for that in the New Testament we have no precept, and nothing but the example of the primitive disciples meeting in their synaxes upon that day (and so also they did on the Saturday in the Jewish synagogues), but yet (however, that at Geneva, they were once in meditation to have changed it into a Thursday meeting, to have shown their Christian liberty), we should think strangely of those men that called the Sunday festival less than an apostolical ordinance, and necessary now to be kept holy with such observances as the church hath appointed.

"Baptism of infants is most certainly a holy and charitable ordinance, and of ordinary necessity to all that ever cried, and yet the church hath founded this rite upon the tradition of the apostles; and wise men do easily observe, that the Anabaptist can by the same probability of Scripture, enforce a necessity of communicating infants upon us, as we do of baptizing infants upon them, if we speak of immediate divine institution, or of practice apostolical recorded in Scripture; and, therefore, a great master of Geneva, in a book he writ against the Anabaptists, was forced to fly to apostolical traditive ordination. And therefore the institution of bishops must be served first, as having fairer plea, and clearer evidence in Scripture, than the baptizing of infants; and yet, they that deny this, are, by the just anathema of the catholic church, confidently condemned for heretics.

"Of the same consideration are divers other things in Christianity, as the presbyter's consecrating the eucharist: for if the apostles in the first institution did represent the whole church, clergy and laity, when Christ said, '*Hoc facite*,'—'do this,' then why may not every Christian man

there represented, do that which the apostles in the name of all were commanded to do? — If the apostles did not represent the whole church, why then do all communicate? — Or, what place or intimation of Christ's saying is there, in all the four gospels, limiting '*hoc facite*,' *id est*, '*benedicite*,' to the clergy, and extending '*hoc facite*,' *id est*, '*accipite et manducate*,' to the laity? This also rests upon the practice apostolical and traditive interpretation of holy church, and yet cannot be denied that so it ought to be, of any man that would not have his Christendom suspected.

"To these I add the communion of women; the distinction of books apocryphal from canonical; that such books were written by such evangelists and apostles; the whole tradition of Scripture itself; the apostles' creed; the feast of Easter (which, amongst all them that cry up the Sunday festival for a divine institution, must needs prevail as *caput institutionis*, it being that for which the Sunday is commemorated). These, and divers others of greater consequence (which I dare not specify for fear of being misunderstood), rely but upon equal faith with this of episcopacy (though I should waive all the arguments for immediate divine ordinance); and therefore it is but reasonable it should be ranked among the *credenda* of Christianity, which the church hath entertained, on the confidence of that which we call *the faith of a Christian*, whose Master is truth itself[c]."

On the remainder of Taylor's argument, a very few observations are sufficient. — He obviates, with much skill and learning, in his twenty-first section, the objection against the sole jurisdiction of the bishop, which is taken from an expression of Jerome, and discriminates between the separate functions and dignities of bishops and presbyters, whether these last are spoken of singly, or as assembled in diocesan councils. He solves that which is sometimes urged, from the indiscriminate manner in which, in the earliest times, the terms bishop and presbyter were sometimes applied, and defines the power and dignity of the ancient officer who was called "Chorepiscopus." — He then enlarges on the authority, influence, and honour, possessed by bishops in elder times;

[c] Episcopacy Asserted, sect. 19. vol. vii. p. 74.

on the extent of their dioceses, and the allegiance paid them by their clergy, and concludes with proving, against the Church Polity of Calvin, that at no period of antiquity did laymen hold office in the church.

On the general style and spirit of this treatise I have already spoken, and the specimen which I have given may afford the reader a sufficient idea of both. The care is, however, worthy of notice, with which Taylor had already begun to guard against any thing which might sanction persecution, and which has led him, in two different places of his present work, to deny to the church the right of employing any but ecclesiastical censures. This denial is, as we have seen, employed by him as an argument for the necessity of an immediate divine commission to the episcopacy, and he expresses himself still more strongly in sect. 35.

"As no human power can disrobe the church of the power of excommunication, so no human power can invest the church with a lay compulsory. For, if the church be not capable of a 'jus gladii,' as most certainly she is not, the church cannot receive power to *put men to death, or to inflict lesser pains in order to it, or any thing above a salutary penance.*"——"Her censure she may inflict upon her delinquent children without asking leave. Christ is her αὐθεντία for that; he is her warrant and security. The other [the power of secular punishment] is begged or borrowed, none of her own, *nor of a fit edge to be used in her abscisions and coercions.*"

The "Defence of Episcopacy" was followed by his "Apology for authorized and set Forms of Liturgy," which first appeared in 1646, though it was enlarged in a second edition three years afterwards. It is a sufficient proof that he was no time-server, when a work of this kind appeared with his name, and with a reprint of his dedication to the king, at a time when that sovereign was already removed to another state of existence.

The work, thus enlarged and improved, is, perhaps, among the best of Taylor's polemical discourses. It was a subject which gave abundant scope to his extensive knowledge of antiquity and of human nature, and it was one above all, which, from its connexion with practical piety, was adapted to call into action much of that higher strain of

eloquence by which his practical works are more peculiarly distinguished. On prayer, indeed, he always seems to have felt and written "with all his heart, with all his soul, and with all his strength;" and it is a subject, therefore, on which, of all others, his opinion is most valuable. The most strenuous admirers of extemporaneous prayer can hardly refuse their serious attention to the objections offered against its practice by one who was himself endued with so remarkable gifts both of eloquence and piety. And those whom his arguments fail to convince, or who need no arguments to convince them, will not the less be impressed by the majestic eloquence of his preface, in which he laments over the then persecuted condition of the English church, and, concisely, but with a degree of clearness and elegance which has been seldom surpassed, reviews and regrets the merits of the proscribed liturgy.

"In these things," he says, when comparing the calamities of England to those of Israel, in the days of Hophni and Phineas; "in these things we also have been but too like the sons of Israel; for, when we sinned as greatly, we also have groaned under as great and sad a calamity. For we have not only felt the evils of an intestine war, but God hath smitten us in our spirit, and laid the scene of his judgments especially in religion; he hath snuffed our lamp so near that it is almost extinguished, and the sacred fire was put into a hole of the earth, even then when we were forced to light those tapers that stood upon our altars, that, by this sad truth better than by the old ceremony, we might prove our succession to those holy men, who were constrained to sing hymns to Christ in dark places and retirements."

"But I delight not to observe the correspondences of such sad accidents, which, as they may happen upon diverse causes, or may be forced violently by the strength of fancy, or driven on by jealousy, and the too fond openings of troubled hearts and afflicted spirits; so they do but help to vex the offending part, and relieve the afflicted but with a fantastic and groundless comfort. I will, therefore, deny leave to my own affections to ease themselves by complaining of others. I shall only crave leave that I may remember Jerusalem, and call to mind the pleasures of the temple, the order of her services, the beauty of her buildings,

the sweetness of her songs, the decency of her ministrations, the assiduity and economy of her priests and Levites, the daily sacrifice, and that eternal fire of devotion that went not out by day nor by night: these were the pleasures of our peace, and there is a remanent felicity in the very memory of those spiritual delights which we then enjoyed as antepasts of heaven, and consignations to an immortality of joys. And it may be so again when it shall please God, who hath the hearts of all princes in his hands, and turneth them as the rivers of waters; and when men will consider the invaluable loss that is appendant to the destroying such forms of discipline and devotion in which God was purely worshipped, and the church was edified, and the people instructed to great degrees of piety, knowledge, and devotion."—"For to the churches of the Roman communion we can say that ours is reformed; to the reformed churches we can say, that ours is orderly and decent: for we were freed from the impositions and lasting errors of a tyrannical spirit, and yet from the extravagancies of a popular spirit too: our reformation was done without tumult, and yet we saw it necessary to reform; we were zealous to cast away the old errors, but our zeal was balanced with consideration and the results of authority. Not like women and children when they are affrighted with fire in their clothes; we shaked off the coal indeed, but not our garments, lest we should have exposed our churches to that nakedness which the excellent men of our sister churches complained to be among themselves[4]."

The advantages of set forms of prayer in general; the peculiar merits of the English liturgy; the weakness of the objections urged against its different particulars; the testimony borne to its merits by the most celebrated among the martyrs of the reformation; (among whom he instances, with peculiar respect, the name of his own ancestor, Rowland Taylor;) contrasted with the obvious imperfections and arrogant claims of the recent "Directory," are, all in their turns, concisely and eloquently treated: till he returns again to the excellence and misfortunes of the Common Prayer.

"And yet this excellent book hath had the fate to

[4] Preface to Apology, sect. 2, 3—6. Vol. vii. pp. 284—286.

be cut in pieces with a pen-knife, and thrown into the fire; but it is not consumed. At first, it was sown in tears, and is now watered with tears, yet never was any holy thing drowned and extinguished by tears. It began with the martyrdom of the compilers, and the church hath been vexed ever since by angry spirits, and she was forced to defend it with much trouble and unquietness; but it is to be hoped, that all these storms are sent but to increase the zeal and confidence of the pious sons of the church of England. Indeed, the greatest danger that the Prayer-Book ever had, was the indifferency and indevotion of them that used it but as a common blessing; and they who thought it fit for the meanest of the clergy to read prayers, and for themselves only to preach, though they might innocently intend it, yet did not in that action consult the honour of our liturgy, except where charity or necessity did interpose. But, when excellent things go away, and then look back upon us, as our blessed Saviour did upon St. Peter, we are more moved than by the nearer embraces of a full and actual possession. I pray God it may prove so in our case, and that we may not be too willing to be discouraged; at least, that we may not cease to love and to desire what is not publicly permitted to our practice and profession[e]."

In this fine preface there is one passage, which I could wish had been differently worded. In commending, with good reason, the manner in which different passages from the Epistles and Gospels are selected to be read in the Communion Service, he thus expresses himself:—

"If we deny to the people a liberty of reading Scriptures, may they not complain, as Isaac did against the inhabitants of the land, that the Philistines had spoiled his well, and the fountains of living water? If a free use to all of them, and of all Scriptures, were permitted, should not the church herself have more cause to complain of the infinite licentiousness and looseness of interpretations, and of the commencement of ten thousand errors, which would certainly be consequent to such permission? Reason and religion will chide us in the first, reason and experience in the

[e] Preface to Apology, sect. 47. p. 311.

latter. And can the wit of man conceive a better temper and expedient than that such Scriptures only, or principally, should be laid before them all in daily offices, which contain in them all the mysteries of our redemption, and all the rules of good life?"——"And were this design made something more minute, and applicable to the various necessities of the times, and such choice Scriptures permitted indifferently, which might be matter of necessity and great edification, the people of the church would have no reason to complain that the fountains of our Saviour were stopped from them, nor the rulers of the church, that the mysteriousnesses of Scripture were abused by the petulancy of the people, to consequents harsh, impious, and unreasonable, in despite of government, in exauctoration of the power of superiors, or for the commencement of schisms and heresies."

If, in these words, he means no more than to propose that, for the occasions of the *public* service of the church, and instead of the now almost continuous order in which the Bible is read in our congregations on week-days, a selection were made after the manner of the ancient lectionaries, leaving the entire Bible as free as before to the private studies of all Christians; I do not know that the measure which he recommends would be liable to any serious objections. It has been already adopted, to a certain extent, by the church, in her selection of the proper lessons for Sundays and saints' days throughout the year; and, even in the regular course of the daily chapters, it is well known that the principle, at least, is admitted by the exclusion of some particular passages. But it is not easy to see how a choice of Scriptures for public reading could prevent those which were read in private from being abused in the manner which he deplores; and, if it were his design to permit the Scriptures to the laity only in such an abridged and garbled form as their spiritual rulers might think advisable, it could only remain for us to regret, that the danger of the times and the bitter fruits of enthusiasm and fanaticism then before his eyes, had so far overpowered the better understanding and better feeling of a man like Taylor, as that they should betray him into a proposal at once so foolish and so blameable, so contrary to the maxims of an enlarged worldly prudence, and so dangerous to genuine Christianity. The strangest

circumstance of the whole, and that which induces me still more to think that the author has here spoken inconsiderately, is that, a few sections further on, he expresses an opinion directly contrary to that which he has here advanced, and praises the church of England, in the highest terms, for her orderly, and, (with few exceptions), her *indiscriminate* reading of the Old and New Testament. "Certainly," are his words, "it was a very great wisdom, and a very prudent and religious constitution, so to order that part of the liturgy which the ancients called the 'Lectionarium,' that the Psalter should be read over twelve times in the year, the Old Testament once, and the New Testament thrice, besides the Epistles and Gospels, which renew, with a more frequent repetition, such choice places as represent the entire body of faith and good life. There is a defalcation of some few chapters from the entire body in the order, but that also was part of the wisdom of the church not to expose to public ears and common judgment some of the secret rites of Moses's law, or the more mysterious prophecies of the New Testament, whose sense and meaning the event will declare, if we, by mistaken and anticipated interpretations, do not obstruct our own capacities, and hinder us from believing the true events, because they answer not those expectations with which our own mistakes have prepared our understandings[f]."

The treatise itself is occupied in discussing the arguments usually advanced either by those who object to all set and premeditated forms whatever, or by those who admit of a premeditated form, so it be not enjoined by authority, but every minister of the Gospel be left to the best use of those gifts of prayer which he possesses. Against the first of these he urges the counsel of Solomon, "Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thy heart be hasty to utter any thing before God," demanding—"who keeps the precepts best, he that deliberates, or he that considers not when he speaks?"—He proceeds to instance, to the same effect, the example and authority of the wisest nations and most sober persons of antiquity: and examines, with much learning and acuteness, the pretence of a promise in the Gospel of a

[f] Pref. sect. 37. p. 303.

spirit of prayer, and of a peculiar assistance to our unpremeditated devotions. What he here lays down as to the nature of the ordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost, and those celestial aids which are purchased for us by Christ's blood, is extremely useful and important, inasmuch as he proves "that the aids of the Holy Ghost are only assistances to us in the use of natural means," and that "labour, and hard study, and premeditation, will soonest purchase the gift of prayer, and ascertain us of the assistance of the Spirit." He shows that, even where the extraordinary aids of the Holy Ghost were most largely given in the case of the inspired writers of the New Testament, "yet, in the midst of those great assistances and motions, they did use study, art, industry, and human abilities."

"This," he proceeds, "is more than probable in the different styles of the several books; some being of admirable art, others lower and plain. The words were their own, at least sometimes, not the Holy Ghost's. And, if Origen, St. Hierome, and especially the Greek fathers, scholiasts and grammarians, were not deceived by false copies, but that they truly did observe sometimes, to be impropriety of an expression in the language, sometimes not true Greek, who will think those errors or imperfections in grammar were, (in respect of the words, I say,) precisely immediate inspirations and dictates of the Holy Ghost, and not rather their own productions of industry and humanity?"

"But, clearly, some of their words were the words of Aratus, some of Epimenides, some of Menander, some of St. Paul, [*This speak I, not the Lord.*]"—"And, since that we cannot pretend on any grounds of probability to an inspiration so immediate as theirs, and yet their assistances, which they had from the Spirit, did not exclude human arts and industry, but that the ablest scholar did write the best, much rather is this true in the gifts and assistances we receive, and particularly in the gift of prayer. It is not an extempore and an inspired faculty; but the faculties of nature, and the abilities of art and industry, are improved and ennobled by the supervening assistance of the Holy Spirit. And, if those who pray extempore, say, that the assistance they receive from the Spirit is the inspiration of words and powers, without the operation of art and natural

abilities, and human industry; then, besides that it is more than the penmen of Scripture sometimes had, (because they needed no extraordinary assistances to what they could of themselves do upon the stock of other abilities.) Besides this, I say, it must follow that such prayers, so inspired, if they were committed to writing, would form as good canonical Scripture as any is in St. Paul's Epistles: the impudence of which pretension is sufficient to prove the extreme vanity of the challenge[g]."

"But," (he goes on to argue,) having thus shown that the gift of praying by the Spirit, whatever it means, may, like all other spiritual gifts, be acquired by human industry,—"Let us take a man that pretends he hath the gift of prayer, and loves to pray extempore. I suppose his thoughts go a little before his tongue. I demand, then, whether cannot this man, when it is once come into his head, hold his tongue, and write down what he hath conceived? If his first conceptions were of God and God's Spirit, then they are so still, even when they are written. Or, is the Spirit departed from him at the sight of a pen and inkhorn? It did use to be otherwise among the old and new prophets, whether they were prophets of prediction or of ordinary ministry. But, if his conception may be written, and, being thus written, is still a production of the Spirit, then it follows, that set forms of prayer, deliberate and prescribed, may as well be a praying with the Spirit as sudden forms and extempore outlets." "So that, in effect, since, after the pretended assistance of the Spirit in our prayers, we may write them down, consider them, *try the Spirits*, and ponder the matter, the reason, and the religion of the address; let the world judge whether this sudden utterance and extempore forms be any thing else but a direct resolution not to consider beforehand what we speak[h]."

He then examines, with the same clearsighted discrimination, the different meanings in which we may understand the scriptural expression of "praying by the Spirit;" which he defines to be, "first, when the Spirit stirs up our desires to pray, *per motionem actualis auxilii;* or, secondly,

[g] Apology. sect. 32, p. 333. [h] Apol. sect. 34, 35. pp. 335, 336.

when the Spirit teaches us what or how to pray, telling us the matter and manner of our prayers; thirdly and lastly, dictating the very words of our prayers. There is no other way in the world to pray with the Spirit that is pertinent to this question; and of this last manner the Scripture determines nothing, nor speaks any thing expressly of it. And yet, suppose it had, we are certain the Holy Ghost hath supplied us with all these, and yet in set forms of prayer best of all; I mean, where a difference can be.

"For, first: As for the desires and actual motions or incitements to pray, they are indifferent to one or the other, to set forms or extempore.

"Secondly: But as to the matter or manner of prayer, it is clearly contained in the expresses and set forms of Scripture; and there it is supplied to us by the Spirit, for He is the great dictator of it.

"Thirdly: Now, then, for the very words. No man can assure me that the words of his extempore prayer are the words of the Holy Spirit. It is neither reason nor modesty to expect such immediate assistances to so little purpose, he having supplied us with abilities more than enough to express our desires, *aliunde*, otherwise than by immediate dictate. But, if we will take David's Psalter, or the other hymns of Holy Scripture, or any of the prayers which are respersed over the Bible, we are sure enough that they are the words of God's Spirit, mediately or immediately, by way of infusion or ecstasy, by vision, or, at least, by ordinary assistance. And now then, what greater confidence can any man have for the excellency of his prayers, and the probability of their being accepted, than when he prays his Psalter, or the Lord's Prayer, or any other office which he finds consigned in Scripture? When God's Spirit stirs us up to an actual devotion, and then we use the matter he hath described and taught, and the very words which Christ, and Christ's Spirit, and the apostles and other persons full of the Holy Ghost did use; if, in the world, there be any praying with the Spirit, (I mean, in vocal prayer,) this is it[i]."

In replying to the second objection, which admits of

[i] Apol. sect. 47, 48, 49. p. 343.

premeditation, but attacks the restriction of all men to a single form, he admits, in the first place, that "the gift or ability of prayer given to the church is used either in public or private, and that which is fit enough for one is inconvenient in the other; and, although a liberty in private may be for edification of good people, when it is piously and discreetly used, yet, in the public, if it were indifferently permitted, it would bring infinite inconvenience, and become intolerable." Then, after some intermediate observations, evincing a profound acquaintance with the human heart, and a large personal experience of those seraphic ardours of devotion which, in private, "may descend, like an anointing from above, and which are not to be restrained within the margent of prescribed forms," he urges that such a spirit may nevertheless *keep silence in the church, and speak unto himself and unto God;*" and that, "though public forms cannot be fitted to every man's fancy and affections," — "yet they may be fitted to all necessities and to every man's duty." That, even if every minister were permitted to pray his own forms, his form could not comply with the great variety of affections which are amongst his auditors: though it might hit casually, and by accident be commensurate to the present fancy of some of his congregation, with which, at that time, possibly the public form would not. "This may be thus, and it may be otherwise; and, at the same time in which some feel a greater gust and relish in his prayer, others might feel a greater sweetness in recitation of the public forms. This thing is so by chance, so singular and uncertain, that no wise man, nor no providence less than Divine, can make any provision for it[k]."

After all, he urges, it is nothing but the fantastic and the imaginative part that is pleased; and when men, out of fancy, prejudice, or passion, are not edified by that which, in itself, is good, wholesome, and apt to edify, more particularly when this is prepared by those men who, in all reason, are to be supposed to have received from God all those assistances which are effects of the "spirit of government;" "the way to cure the inconvenience is to alter the men, not to change the institution."

[k] Apol. sect. 51—62. pp. 344. 350.

Having thus cleared up the question of edification, he proceeds to discuss the points of right and authority. He shows, that the power of appointing certain forms of prayer is, by a necessary analogy, to reside in the rulers of the church; both as stewards of sacred things, and as, like the old prophets, bound to pray for the people, and to provide that so solemn a duty as public prayer be performed without disorder or scandal.

And, as the Presbyterians were agreed with him, that the ministers, and not the people, were to prescribe the words of the prayer in which all should join, he goes on to urge, that the church, in general, might more fitly execute this office for all, than every single minister for his congregation: inasmuch as, whatever promises of spiritual assistance are made to individual believers, are more fully and definitely accorded to the church at large; and, since the church at large, in her collective and corporate capacity, can only exercise whatever spirit of prayer she may possess in limited and determined forms, no private minister can expect to pray better than a council; few are so confident in themselves as to say, that they can do it as well; and "quod spectat ad omnes, ab omnibus tractari debet."

He proceeds to show, by the precedents of all former, the form of benediction prescribed by God to Moses; the psalms employed in the service of the Temple; the example of John the Baptist, and of Christ himself, that some set forms of prayer were of inspired and divine authority. He proves the injunction of Christ, to extend to the form of words as well as to the purport of the petitions[1]; and observes, "that if ever any prayer was, or could be, a part of that doctrine of faith by which we received the Spirit, it must needs be this prayer, which was the only form our blessed Master taught the Christian church."

The practice of the ancient church, both in prayers and hymns, restricting both to set forms, and permitting such forms only to be introduced by persons in authority, he next establishes and comments on. He instances some of the advantages of a well-constructed liturgy, in conveying truths to the heart as well as the understanding of the

[1] Sect. 75—79. pp. 356, 358.

assistants; in preserving concord and catholic communion; and in restraining the conceit and curiosity of individual ministers of religion, whose devotion may be spoiled by the same applauses which encourage and augment their fluency. "But these things," he observes with characteristic moderation and gentleness, "are accidental to the nature of the thing; and, therefore, though they are too certainly consequent to the person, yet I will not be too severe, but preserve myself on the surer side of a charitable construction; which, truly, I desire to keep not only to their persons, whom I much reverence, but also to their actions. But yet I durst not do the same thing even for these last reasons, though I had no other [m]."

The objection, that individual ministers may as well be left to the composition of their own prayers as their own sermons, he answers by pointing out the many points of difference which exist between the two things; the greater necessity that the people should agree with what they join in than what they hear; the greater reverence required in an immediate address to the Most High; the greater variety and latitude in a theological argument than in a prayer; and the fact, that many persons preach, whom, even in the opinion of the divines of Westminster themselves, it might be as well to restrain from that liberty.

The following passage may lead us to suspect that the Presbyterian clergy of those days had not yet usually begun the practice, which is now almost universal amongst them, of preaching *extempore*, or what passes as such. "Yet, methinks, the argument objected, so far as the extempore men make use of it, if it were turned with the edge the other way, would have more reason in it; and, instead of arguing, "Why should not the same liberty be allowed to their spirit in praying as in preaching?" it were better to substitute this: "If they can pray with the Spirit, why "do they not also preach with the Spirit?"—"Let them make demonstration of their spirit by making excellent sermons extempore: that it may become an experiment of their other faculty, that, after they are tried and approved in this, they may be considered for the other:

[m] Sect. 114. p. 379.

and, if praying with the Spirit be praying extempore, why shall they not preach extempore too, or else confess they preach without the Spirit, or that they have not the gift of preaching[n]?"

He concludes by observing, that there is no promise in Scripture, that he who prays extempore shall be heard the better, or assisted at all to such purposes; that this way of prayer is without precedent in antiquity or warrant in Scripture; that it is unreasonable, because without deliberation; innovating, because without authority: detracting from our first reformers, and encouraging to the cavils of the Church of Rome; favourable to the introduction of heresy, and dangerous to the right administration of the sacraments themselves. "He," he proceeds, "that considers all these things, (and many more he may consider,) will find that particular men are not fit to be intrusted to offer in public, with their private spirit, to God, for the people, in such solemnities, in matters of so great concernment; where the honour of God, the benefit of the people, the interest of kingdoms, the being of a church, the unity of minds, the conformity of practice, the truth of persuasion, and the salvation of souls, are so much concerned as they are in the public prayers of a whole national church. An unlearned man is not to be trusted, and a wise man dare not trust himself; he that is ignorant cannot, he that is knowing will not[o]."

We are now arrived at the "Liberty of Prophesying," introduced by an Epistle to Lord Hatton; from which some passages have been already quoted, and in which he justifies himself from the charge of a latitudinarian indifference to all religions, and recommends to the champions of the faith the use of no other weapons than those which suit the Christian warfare: such as "preaching and disputation, (so that neither of them breed disturbance,) charity and sweetness, holiness of life, assiduity of exhortation, the word of God, and prayer."

"For these ways," he continues, "are most natural, most prudent, most peaceable and effectual. Only, let not men be hasty in calling every disliked opinion by the name

[n] Sect. 34. p. 385. [o] Sect. 141. p. 390.

of heresy; and, when they have resolved that they will call it so, let them use the erring person like a brother, not beat him like a dog, nor convince him with a gibbet, or vex him out of his understanding and persuasions."

As a still further means of obtaining a patient hearing to his arguments, he gives a very short but very learned and curious sketch of the opinions and practice of the Christian church as to the question of toleration: in which he shows, that persecution was a practice unheard of among Christians till the church became worldly and corrupted; that it was first used by the Arians and other heretics; and that, when the orthodox began to retaliate, they were condemned for so doing by all the best and wisest of the Fathers. He proves, how comparatively recent, in the Western church, has been the rise of religious persecution; and that, though the Roman pontiffs showed themselves more encroaching and oppressive than any other prelates, yet no capital punishments were inflicted for heresy till the persecution of the Albigenses at the instigation of the ferocious Dominic. In England more particularly, (he observes,) though the power of the Pope was no where greater than here, yet there were no executions for matters of opinion, till Henry the Fourth, having usurped the crown, endeavoured, by these bloody sacrifices, to conciliate the priesthood.

All those Christian sovereigns, he urges, who have received from succeeding ages the praise of eminent virtue and wisdom, have been favourable to religious toleration. The blessing of Providence appears, in an especial manner, to have been bestowed on all governments by which it has been maintained; and he gives some remarkable examples of a contrary policy being chastised by foreign invasions, by civil calamities, and by a decay of internal prosperity and national power.

He concludes with expressing his wonder, (though without denying the real guilt and danger of heresy,) that men should show so much zeal against false opinions, and so little against vicious practices; and that, while thus curiously busy about points of less importance, "they should neglect those glorious precepts of Christianity and holy life which are the glories of our religion, and would enable us to a blessed eternity."

The essay for which he thus endeavours to conciliate a favourable reception, is somewhat less extensive in its object than many have been led to believe, and can by no means lay claim to the character which has been assigned to it, of a plea for universal toleration. The forbearance which he claims, he claims for those Christians only who unite in the confession of the apostles' creed. Of those sects who refuse their assent to this symbol, (as, indeed, there were none then in existence,) he says absolutely nothing; and the exceptions which he makes to his proposed act of peace, in the thirteenth section, must, in effect, exclude from its benefit, a very large proportion of those who profess religions hostile to Christianity. It is probable, indeed, that, considering the prejudices with which he had to contend, he was not anxious to follow up his own principles to the full extent to which they conducted, and that, in his earnestness to remedy the mutual bitterness of Christian sects, he purposely avoided treating of a case which had not yet arisen, or pleading the cause of those who were in no present or apparent danger of incurring the weight of religious violence.

If, however, he in this respect has taken a view of his subject narrower than he is often supposed to have done, in another respect he extends his principles considerably beyond the limit of a bare abstinence from persecution. He would not only dissuade us from killing or imprisoning our brethren, he would have us unite with them in communion, and he appears to have flattered himself with the hope that the greatest diversity of opinions, on topics not absolutely essential, might be made to consist not only with general charity but with complete church-union, by the mere non-interference of authority, and by a permission to all Christians to think and preach on such points according to their consciences. It is the authoritative decision, according to him, which, in such differences, occasions the schism, and he appeals to the experience of Christendom for the fact that there are some points of the greatest practical importance, on which the greatest difference of opinion exists, which yet, because men are permitted to differ respecting them, have led to none of those divisions and heart-burnings which have arisen from disputes of far less moment. "It is of greater conse-

quence," he urges, "to believe right in the question of the validity or invalidity of a death-bed repentance, than to believe aught in the question of purgatory; and the consequences of the doctrine of predetermination are of deeper and more material consideration than the products of the belief of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of private masses; and yet these great concernments, where a liberty of prophesying in these questions hath been permitted, hath made no distinct communion, no sects of Christians, and the others have, and so have these too in those places where they have peremptorily been determined on either side."

"For," he shortly afterwards more fully explains himself, "if it be evinced that one heaven shall hold men of differing opinions,—if the unity of faith be not destroyed by that which men call differing religions, and if an unity of Christian charity be the duty of us all even towards persons that are not persuaded of every proposition we believe, then I would fain know to what purpose are all those stirs and great noises in Christendom; those names of faction, the several names of churches not distinguished by the division of kingdoms, *ut ecclesia sequatur imperium*, which was the primitive rule and canon, but distinguished by names of sects and men? These are all become instruments of hatred, thence come schisms and parting of communions, and then persecutions, and then wars and rebellion, and then the dissolutions of all friendships and societies. All these mischiefs proceed, not from this, that men are not of one mind, (for that is neither necessary nor possible), but that every opinion is made an article of faith, every article is the ground of a quarrel, every quarrel makes a faction, every faction is zealous, and all zeal pretends for God, and whatever is for God cannot be too much. We by this time are come to that pass, we think we love not God except we hate our brother, and we have not the virtue of religion unless we persecute all religions but our own; for lukewarmness is so odious to God and man, that we, proceeding furiously upon these mistakes, by supposing we preserve the body we destroy the soul of religion, or by being zealous for faith, or, which is all one, for that which we mistake for faith, we are cold in charity, and so lose the reward of both[p]."

[p] Lib. Proph. Introduction, vol. vii. p. 440.

In pursuit of this great scheme of general union, he begins by proving that "the duty of faith is completed in believing the articles of the apostles' creed," the composition of which, (with the exception of the article of Christ's descent into hell), he ascribes to the apostles themselves, or to apostolical men in the first ages of Christianity, and which, as it contains nothing superfluous or which does not relate to those truths "which directly constitute the parts and work of our redemption," so must it have been necessarily esteemed sufficiently minute by its composers, and by that primitive church which adopted it as "the characteristic note of a Christian from a heretic, or a Jew, or an infidel." He admits, indeed, that it is neither unlawful nor unsafe for any of the rulers of the church, or any other competent judge, to extend his *own* creed to any further propositions which he may deduce from any of the articles of the apostles' creed. But he denies that any such deduction or exposition (unless it be such a thing as is at first evident to all), is fit to be pressed *on others* as an article of faith, or can "bind a person of a differing persuasion to subscribe under pain of losing his faith or being a heretic." "For," he urges, "it is a demonstration that nothing can be necessary to be believed, under pain of damnation, but such propositions of which it is certain that God hath spoken and taught them to us, and of which it is certain that this is their sense and purpose. For, if the sense be uncertain, we can no more be obliged to believe it in a certain sense, than we are to believe it at all, if it were not certain that God delivered it. But, if it be only certain that God spake it, and not certain to what sense, our faith of it is to be as indeterminate as its sense, and it can be no other in the nature of the thing, nor is it consonant to God's justice to believe of him that he can or will require more." And he concludes the section with a quotation from Tertullian, that, if the integrity and unity of this rule of faith be preserved, "in all other things men may take a liberty of enlarging their knowledges and prophesyings, according as they are assisted by the grace of God[q]."

This position he illustrates and enforces in the following sections:—1st; by the moderation shown in the primitive

[q] Ubi supra, p. 455.

church to such erroneous opinions as related not immediately to the fundamentals of Christianity; and were maintained by their professors in sincerity and piety:—2nd; from the utter impossibility of obtaining any certain and universal rule of faith which shall be more definite and minute than the apostles' creed, either from Scripture, tradition, the decisions of councils, the dicta of the ancient fathers, the authority of the Pope, or the opinion of the church universal. He thus arrives at the conclusion that, no man or body of men being competent to judge for others in matters of faith, every man must judge for himself, and according to the dictates of his own reason, either by choosing what guides or teachers he will follow, (which he admits in some cases to be the wisest and in all the easiest course,) or by choosing for himself his opinions in detail, and following his guides no further than his reason agrees with their dictation. That such a course is liable to error he admits; but he contends that such error, whether arising from confusion of understanding, or honest prejudice, or any cause but such wicked and interested notions as cannot sway a pious person, is, in a pious person, innocent before God; "who is so pitiful to our crimes that he pardons many *de toto et integro*, in all makes abatement for the violence of temptation and the surprisal and invasion of our faculties, and therefore much less will demand of us an account of our weaknesses."

Having reached this point in his argument, he proceeds, by a natural transition, to show the folly and wickedness of punishing, by death or other severities, the exercise of that choice which he has shown to be in itself legitimate; a folly and wickedness which he further illustrates by the danger which exists that the same weapon which is employed to extirpate error, may, in some instances, be turned to the injury of truth; by the inefficacy of force in matters of opinion; by the manner in which a resort to such measures derogates from the honour of the Christian religion, and by the fact that God alone has power over the soul of man, "so as to command a persuasion or to judge a disagreeing." He shows, more at length than in his Dedication, how strongly the stream of precedent and ecclesiastical antiquity sets against persecution; and defines with admirable ac-

curacy and clearness the limit and nature of *ecclesiastical censure*, and the single species of severity, (excommunication), which, even in cases of the most notorious heresy, the church has the power of exercising.

But even this mild and moderate and altogether spiritual jurisdiction, can only, he repeats, be exercised to remedy practical inconveniences, or to reprove such opinions as, by the rules which he had previously laid down, are formal heresies. "The peace of the church and the unity of her doctrine is best conserved when it is judged by the proportion it hath to that rule of unity which the apostles gave, that is, the creed, for articles of mere belief, and the precepts of Jesus Christ and the practical rules of piety, which are most plain and easy, and without controversy, set down in the Gospels and writings of the apostles. But to multiply articles, and adopt them into the family of the faith, and to require assent to such articles which (as St. Paul's phrase is), are of doubtful disputation, equal to the assent which we give to matters of faith, is to build a tower upon the top of a bulrush; and the further the effect of such proceedings does extend, the worse they are. The very making such a law is unreasonable. The inflicting spiritual censures upon them that cannot do so much violence to their understanding as to obey it, is unjust and ineffectual; but to punish the person with death, or with corporeal infliction, indeed it is effectual, but it is, therefore, tyrannical."

Having thus limited the ecclesiastical authority in matters of religion, the author proceeds to the secular governor, whom he shows to be bound in conscience to tolerate all religious *opinions*, because an opinion is in no point of view subject to his jurisdiction; and to be bound no less, both in conscience and policy, to suffer men to teach and profess any system of Christianity which they themselves believe, so long as the public peace is not broken nor endangered, either by the evident tendency of the doctrines themselves, or the manner in which their supporters endeavour to disseminate them. And he cautions him with much earnestness, before he has recourse to any measures of severity, not to "call every redargution or modest discovery of established error by the name of disturbance of the peace;" not to be himself the first to break the peace by peevishness and impatience of contradiction; to remember

always the gentle spirit of Christianity and the natural claim which all men have to liberty of conscience: and to remember, above all, the saying of Thuanus, "*Hæretici qui, pace data, factionibus scinduntur, persecutione uniuntur contra regem.*"

"The sum," he concludes this section by observing, "is this. It concerns the duty of a prince, because it concerns the honour of God, that all vices and every part of ill-life be discountenanced and restrained; and, therefore, in relation to that, opinions are to be dealt with. For the understanding being to direct the will, and opinions to guide our practices, they are considerable only as they teach impiety and vice, as they either dishonour God or disobey him. Now all such doctrines are to be condemned; but, for the persons preaching such doctrines, if they neither justify nor approve the pretended consequences which are certainly impious, they are to be separated from that consideration. But, if they know such consequences and allow them, or if they do not stay till the doctrines produce impiety, but take sin before-hand, and manage them impiously in any sense; or if either themselves or their doctrines do, really and without colour or feigned pretext, disturb the public peace and just interests, they are not to be suffered. In all other cases it is not only lawful to permit them, but it is also necessary that princes and all in authority should not persecute discrepant opinions. And, in such cases wherein persons not otherwise incompetent are bound to reprove an error, (as they are in many), in all these, if the prince makes restraint, he hinders men from doing their duty, and from obeying the laws of Jesus Christ[r]."

The following sections are taken up with the practical application of these principles to the then prevailing dissensions among Christians, with an ingenious and candid apology for the errors of the two sects who were, in Taylor's time, most obnoxious, the Anabaptists and the Papists, and with a brief conclusion that churches ought to allow communion to all who agree with them in essentials, and that it is the duty of private Christians to communicate with the national church where that church requires no unlawful conditions of communion. From this he takes occasion

[r] Sect. 16. vol. viii. p. 144.

again to remark on the danger and impropriety of driving men into schism by multiplying symbols and subscriptions, and contracting the bounds of communion, and the still greater wickedness of regarding all discrepant opinions as damnable in the life to come, and, in the present, capital. "It concerns all persons to see that they do their best to find out truth, and, if they do, it is certain that, let the error be never so damnable, they shall escape the error, or the misery of being damned for it. And, if God will not be angry at men for being invincibly deceived, why should men be angry one at another? For he that is most displeased at another man's error may also be tempted in his own will, and as much deceived in his understanding. For, if he may fail in what he can choose, he may also fail in what he cannot choose; his understanding is no more secured than his will, nor his faith more than his obedience. It is his own fault if he offends God in either; but whatsoever is not to to be avoided, as errors, which are incident sometimes even to the best and most inquisitive of men, are not offences against God, and therefore not to be punished or restrained by men; but all such opinions in which the public interests of the commonwealth, and the foundation of faith and a good life, are not concerned, are to be permitted freely. *Quisque abundet in sensu suo,* was the doctrine of St. Paul, and that is argument and conclusion too: and they were excellent words which St. Ambrose said in attestation of this great truth, *Nec imperiale est, libertatem dicendi negare, nec sacerdotale id quod sentias non dicere.*"

He concludes his treatise with the celebrated story of Abraham and the idolatrous traveller, which Franklin, with some little variation, gave to Lord Kaimes as a "Jewish Parable on Persecution," and which this last-named author published in his "Sketches of the History of Man." A charge of plagiarism has, on this account, been raised against Franklin; though he cannot be proved to have given it to Lord Kaimes as his own composition, or under any other character than that in which Taylor had previously published it; that, namely, of an elegant fable by an uncertain author which had accidentally fallen under his notice. It is even possible, as has been observed by a writer in the Edinburgh

Review,* that he may have met with it in some magazine without Taylor's name. But, it has been unfortunate for him that his correspondent evidently appears to have regarded it as his composition; that it has been published as such in all the editions of Franklin's collected works; and that, with all Franklin's abilities and amiable qualities, there was a degree of quackery in his character which, in this instance as well as in that of his professional epitaph on himself, has made the imputation of such a theft more readily received against him, than it would have been against most other men of equal eminence.

Whether Taylor himself really found this story where he professes to have done it, has been long a matter of suspicion. Contrary to his general custom, he gives no reference to his authority in the margin; and, as the works of the most celebrated Rabbins had been searched for the passage in vain, it has been supposed that he had ascribed to these authors a story of his own invention, in order to introduce with a better grace an apt illustration of his moral. My learned friend Mr. Oxlee, whose intimate and extensive acquaintance with Talmudic and Cabbalistic learning is inferior to few of the most renowned Jewish doctors themselves, has, at length, discovered the probable source from which Taylor may have taken this beautiful apologue, in the Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to the translation of a Jewish work by George Gentius, who quotes it, however, not from a Hebrew writer, but from the Persian poet Saadi. The story is, in fact, found, word for word, in the Bostàn of this last writer, as appears by a literal translation which I have received from the kindness of Lord Teignmouth. The work of Gentius appeared in 1651, a circumstance which accounts for the fact that the parable is introduced in the second, not the first edition of the Liberty of Prophesying. That Taylor ascribes it to "the Jews' books," may be accounted for from his quoting at second-hand, and from the nature of the work where he found it.†

On a work so rich in intellect, so renowned for charity; which contending sects have rivalled each other in

* Edinburgh Review, Sept. 1816. † Note (XX.)

approving, and which was the first, perhaps, since the earliest days of Christianity, to teach those among whom differences were inevitable, the art of differing harmlessly, it would be almost impertinent to enlarge in commendation. A more useful, though by far more difficult task, will be to discriminate between these general excellencies, and those points in which the author may be thought to have extended his principles too far, or to have fallen short, in his conclusions, of that universal charity to which his principles naturally conducted him.

The leading position of his discourse, as it relates to the terms of communion, or those articles, a faith in which is sufficient to entitle us when alive to the sacraments of the church, and, in another world, to the mercies of our Redeemer, he may be said to have incontestably established; and by so doing to have lent a full confirmation to the principles and practice of the Church of England, who, neither in baptism nor in the Lord's supper, requires more from any of her members than a confession of the apostles' creed, and a promise to keep God's commandments. But, the question becomes much more difficult, if, as Taylor seems to have meant, and as is implied in the very title of his discourse, we extend this same principle to the admission of persons into the public ministry. That office, as it cannot be exercised by all, in its very nature supposes a selection of some and rejection of others; and it is not only natural but allowable, and, generally speaking, a duty in the selectors, to fix on such persons as, being otherwise properly qualified, entertain not only on the essentials of religion, but on its important and practical, though possibly its subordinate features, what the *Antistites Religionis* themselves conceive to be the true opinion. Where a limited number only is to be admitted, this preference given to some need be considered as no reflection either on the morals or the Christianity of the rest. A man may be fit for heaven himself, whom we do not reckon fit for the office of guiding others thither by his public doctrine; and, whether this unfitness arise from defective abilities, defective temper, defective learning, or erroneous opinions, — there is no necessary oppression or intolerance in requesting him to keep silence in the church, or forbidding him to disturb the

weak, and encourage the factious, by the circulation of tenets at which the majority of his brethren are offended.

It is by no means enough to object to such a line of procedure, that the points on which we require conformity in our candidates for orders, are such as the apostles and their immediate successors passed over in silence. If it could be proved, (which it cannot,) that a confession of the symbol known by their name was all which the apostles required in their deacons and presbyters, it would not follow but that, as false doctrines arose in the church, it might become necessary to guard against their dissemination. But in the instance which he mentions of the question which arose concerning circumcision, he appears to have misunderstood the sacred writers, and the obvious purport of that sentence which was given in the council of Jerusalem. The point to be determined on that occasion was, not whether the *Christians of the Jewish nation* were to cease from circumcising their children, or from the observation of the ceremonial laws of Moses. There is no reason from Scripture to suppose that such a change as this was, in the first instance, contemplated by either party. The uniform practice, both of the apostles themselves and their immediate followers, had been, and was, through life, to "walk orderly and keep the law[a];" and, however they may have held out to both Jews and Gentiles the fact that the "curse of the law was removed," and that the religious obligation to observe the Mosaic types had expired when those types were fulfilled, they seem to have been anxious not to press the abandonment of customs which, in themselves, were innocent, and, from their antiquity and divine appointment, venerable; but to leave the abolition of such unnecessary badges of distinction to the hand of time, and to the changes introduced by Providence. Accordingly, the sentence which St. Peter proposed, and which St. James, by the common consent of the apostles, promulgated, was, that the Gentiles should not be compelled to circumcise their children, not that the Jews should be restrained from doing so[z];" and the several bishops of the Jewish nation, who successively presided over the church of Jerusalem, till the time of Adrian, in retaining the practice,

[a] Acts, xxi. 24. [z] Acts, xv. 19, 20.

of circumcision, did no more than exercise a discretion which the apostles had exercised before them, and which the Holy Ghost had no where forbidden.

It is no wonder, then, that those Jewish Christians who adhered to the customs of their fathers, were, notwithstanding this distinction, accounted a sound and orthodox part of the Catholic church. The wonder would have been, had they received a different treatment. But a very different treatment those persons did receive who, not content with retaining the yoke of the law themselves, sought also to impose it on the Gentile converts. The most careless reader of St. Paul's Epistles must observe this distinction; and that of such teachers he himself expressly says, that "their mouths must be stopped[y]." But, if a Christian teacher may be silenced by authority for promulgating a doctrine which, as Taylor himself would have admitted, is not expressly contradicted in the apostles' creed, nor manifestly contrary to good morals; *a fortiori*, a candidate for the office of teacher may be repelled if he avows that doctrine. So that we have here a death-blow given to that entire and unrestrained liberty of prophesying which Taylor seems to call for, and the question of what doctrine shall be publicly taught in the church devolves again on those ecclesiastical rulers, to whom is subject the spirit, not of preaching only, but of prophecy[z]."

But if, in such cases, a further rule is allowed besides the apostles' creed and its self-evident consequences, the question will arise, by whom that rule is to be settled. Shall each individual bishop, each separate presbytery, have a rule of their own, and, according to their several views of Christian truth and of doctrines essentially necessary or otherwise, repel the candidate and silence the preacher? Or, would not this give rise to an uncertainty and variation of the test required, far more oppressive to those subject to it, and far more injurious to the general peace and edification of the church, than any thing which subsists in Christian churches as they are now constituted? And is it not far better to act as all Christian churches have acted, in giving to the world, beforehand, a public and general exposition of the leading

[y] Titus, i. 2. [z] 1 Cor. xiv. 32.

doctrines which they profess to teach; with which they require a conformity in those who seek for admission to the office of public instructor; and which shall neither be added to by the meddling preciseness, or detracted from by the injudicious laxity of any single ecclesiastical governor?

That there is, in all such confessions, a danger, and a great one, (since what human institution is exempt from abuse?) of attempting to define what God's Spirit has left undetermined, and of laying an equal stress on the essentials and circumstantials of Christianity, is what the advocate of tests is by no means called on to deny. But that is no sound logic which reasons from the abuse of a thing against its temperate use; and the evil, where it exists, is a question of detail, not of principle, and to be remedied, not by an abolition of tests in general, but by a reformation of the particular test complained of. And, to promote such reformation, and to escape such dangers, no considerations can be better adapted than those which Taylor has himself suggested at the beginning of his concluding section.

It is, however, necessary to observe, that the power which is here claimed for each Christian church, of excluding from its public ministry the teachers of erroneous doctrines, is claimed for the church only in its spiritual capacity, and that it has no reference to those who are without its pale, and involves in itself no civil pains or penalties whatever. Such penalties, it cannot be too constantly borne in mind, the church of Him, whose kingdom was not of this world, has no power or title to inflict; and for the civil ruler to inflict them on religious grounds, Taylor has clearly shown to be at once an intrusion, a tyranny, and an absurdity.

If, indeed, Taylor may be thought, in his zeal for the liberty of prophesying, to have made it too completely independent of ecclesiastical control, he may be said, on the other hand, to have been too bounded and cautious in his views of civil toleration, when he gives a general power to the civil ruler to repress or punish whatever he may be taught to consider as blasphemy, or open idolatry[a].

The first of these crimes, if not very accurately defined,

[a] Sect. xiii. 1, 2, vol. viii. p. 117.

might involve within its net very many descriptions of persons whom Taylor would have been sorry to behold the victims of religious severities. The Deist and the Jew, who maintain Christ to be an impostor, unquestionably blaspheme the Divine Teacher of Christians; the modern Unitarian, who maintains him to be a mere man of men, the Son of Joseph, as surely detracts from the dignity of that Person whom the majority of Christians adore, and, by departing from the apostles' creed, has completely excluded himself from its protection; and, if known idolatry may be repressed by violence, or punished by the sword, we justify at once all the odious severities of the Spaniards and the Portuguese towards their heathen subjects, if we do not involve in the same snare our fellow Christians of the Greek and Roman communions.

It is probable, indeed, as none of these persons were, at that time, in any immediate danger of persecution, (since for the case of the Roman Catholics he afterwards provided, and the Socinians had not as yet advanced to their modern pitch of free thinking,) that Taylor was not anxious to pursue his own principles to an extent which might give offence to those whom he desired to conciliate. It is certain, that his arguments against punishing men for following the dictates of an erroneous conscience, as well as that which is taken from the dishonour done to Christianity, by supposing it to need any other defence than those weapons of argument and good life by which it subdued the world, are no less cogent against all persecution whatever, than against that which has for its subject the minor dissensions of Christendom.

Nor is there any real weight in the difficulty which appears to have perplexed him, in what manner to reconcile the duty incumbent on every magistrate to repress all open acts of sin and impiety, with the toleration which the same magistrate may be called on to grant to the worshippers of idols, or to the assailant of Christianity. That difficulty arises from a misapprehension of the magistrate's power, whose office, as it is purely civil and secular, has no direct concern with the souls of men, and who is neither bound nor authorized to interfere between man and his Maker, or to take on himself the punishment of offences against God, except

where those offences disturb the temporal peace, or endanger the temporal property of the subject.

Thus, as idolatry, abstractedly considered, is a crime against God, and not against man, it is a crime, the punishment of which God may be conceived to have reserved to himself, and which the secular prince is not called on to punish, or to repress any otherwise than by his own example, and by securing to his subjects the means of religious instruction. Nor can the precedent of the Jewish law avail to lead us to a different conclusion; since, that which might be expedient and necessary under the peculiar circumstances of their theocracy, is no example for us who live under dispensations entirely different; and since, though God may be conceived, as He did in this instance, to delegate a part of his power to a particular magistrate, yet other magistrates, who have no such express commission or direct command, would be guilty of usurpation no less than cruelty, if they presumed to determine on the conduct of "another man's servant."

But, if the particular species of idolatry complained of be attended with obscene or cruel rites; or, if the public processions or ostentatious sacrifices of its votaries have an evident tendency to shock the feelings of the majority of their fellow-citizens, and disturb the public tranquillity, the magistrate is not only permitted, but obliged in conscience to punish or restrain them according to his power, and in such measure as the interests of the community under his charge may require.

Thus the Persians did ill under Xerxes, in destroying the Grecian temples, because not only has a foreign power no right to interfere in the national religion of any state, but because the idolatry of Greece involved no practices, that we know of, inconsistent with the general peace of society. But the Roman senate did well, in repressing and punishing the Bacchanalians, because they had sufficient evidence of the debauchery and violence with which those infernal rites were celebrated. Nor is it useless to observe, that the picture which is handed down to us of the open whoredom and human sacrifices with which the gods of the Canaanites were worshipped, would be, in itself, and without any divine injunction, a good reason why Moses should have prohibited,

under the severest penalties, the practice among his own people of such forms of pollution and bloodshed.

In like manner, though it would, indeed, be the height of wickedness and folly, to forbid the Hindoos, in their own country, to address their devotions to whatever idols, and in whatever form they pleased; yet, if certain Hindoos resident in London were to institute a public procession in honour of Juggernaut, it would be no persecution to command them to perform their acts of faith in private; while, if in the course of those acts any thing actually criminal took place, it would not be the less an offence against the laws, and punishable by the hand of justice, however it might have arisen from the dictates of a real or pretended superstition. Nor, whatever religious prejudice might be pleaded, did our Indian government do wrong in forbidding the murder of female children, nor would it do wrong, (however a real or mistaken policy may forbid the measure,) in preventing the sacrifice of widows on the funeral piles of their husbands.

The distinction which has been laid down as to *actions*, will apply with equal accuracy to *doctrines*. Those which are immediately, or in their evident and avowed consequences, injurious to civil society, and those only, are fit subjects for suppression and punishment; and they are so, not because they are offences against God, but because they are dangerous to mankind. Thus, if a man maintains in argument the falsehood of the Apostles' Creed, he is, perhaps, a blasphemer, certainly an infidel or an heretic; but his crime is not one which it belongs to the magistrate to punish. But the man who persuades his neighbours to insurrection, murder, incest, a promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, or the invasion of private property; the preacher of atheism, who lays the axe to the root of all moral obligation, and the impugner of a future state of retribution, who deprives morality of its only effectual sanction,—such men as these, being common enemies to the peace of the world, are to be put down and repressed by whatever severities are necessary to abate the nuisance. With these exceptions, I know no limit to the toleration of speculative opinions. It is true, indeed, that the teacher of any opinion, false or true, who seeks to inflame in his cause the bad passions of the multitude; who violates the decency due even to established

error, and who assails not only the opinions but the characters and motives of those opposed to him; will, under all circumstances, be deserving of general indignation, and, under particular circumstances, may be a proper subject of legal coercion. But this is as a breaker of the public peace, not as an enemy to that religion, which, as it is founded on argument alone, can, by argument alone, be legitimately or effectually defended. The length of this digression will, I trust, be pardoned, on account of the importance of the interests which its subject involves, and the necessity which there appeared of defining more clearly what Taylor had left uncertain. On the beauty of particular passages in the "Liberty of Prophesying,"—on its general eloquence and clearness of reasoning, as well as on the admirable temper and moderation which throughout distinguish it, any further observations are needless.

"The Doctrine of Repentance," or "Unum Necessarium," is introduced by two letters dedicatory; the first to lord Carbery, the second, which also is the preface, inscribed to Duppa, bishop of Sarum, and Warner of Rochester, as well as to the general body of the English clergy.

In the first of these he apologizes for his so constant recurrence to the inculcation of repentance, by the necessity which there was of counteracting the devices which men had found out to excuse themselves from this necessary labour. In the second, he describes his work as suggested by the many false principles and dangerous errors respecting a death-bed repentance, venial sins, and sins of infirmity;—contrition and attrition;—confession, penance, and absolution, which (during his preparatory studies in order to his great undertaking on the "Rule of Conscience,") he had met with in the works of preceding casuists. "It was in vain," he tells us, "to dispute concerning a single case whether it were lawful or no, when, by the general discoursings of men, it might be permitted to live in states of sin without danger or reproof, as to the final event of souls. I thought it, therefore, necessary, by way of address and preparation to the publication of the particulars, that it should appear to be necessary for a man to live a holy life: and that it could be of concern to him to inquire into the very minutes of his conscience: for if it be no matter how

men live, and if the hope of heaven can stand well with a wicked life, there is nothing in the world more unnecessary than to inquire after cases of conscience. And, if it be sufficient for a man, at the last, to cry out for pardon for having all his life-time neither regarded laws nor conscience, certainly they have found out a better compendium of religion, and need not be troubled with variety of rules and cautions of carefulness and a lasting holiness; nor think concerning any action or state of life, whether it be lawful or not lawful; for it is all one whether it be or no, since neither one nor the other will easily change the event of things."

To illustrate his meaning more fully, he goes on to suppose a person in known habits of sin, fortifying himself against the rebukes of conscience by the topics of comfort usually suggested either by those who extenuate their personal faults by ascribing them to the infirmity of nature, or by those who rely on the chance of a death-bed repentance, and on that "attrition," or terror of God's judgments against sin, which the approach of death and the clamours of conscience may reasonably be expected to generate.

In this, in a tone of lofty sarcasm, he instances what he esteems the dangerous encouragements held out to sin by those who have been more careful of the sinner's ease than his soul; and, after a digression to which I shall hereafter have occasion to refer, he exhorts the clergy to employ the full influence of their prayers, their authority, and their wisdom, to effect "that the strictness of a holy life may be thought necessary, and that repentance may be no more that trifling little piece of duty to which the errors of the late schools of learning, and the desires of men to be deceived in this article, have reduced it."

Such an opening would lead us to expect a severe book, and as "a severe book," he describes it in his dedication to lord Carbery. It does, indeed, inculcate the necessity of an earlier and more lasting, a more earnest, and a more particular and minute repentance than the indolence of man is often willing to undertake, or his self-flattery to consider necessary.

Yet I am not aware that he has at all exceeded the strictness of his rules as laid down in his previous writings, or that he has expressed any greater austerity than is justi-

fled by the danger of sin, by the uncertainty of life, and the further uncertainty that, if life is spared, God's grace may be also continued to us. In discussing the probable event of a death-bed repentance, he has even expressed himself with more caution than he had done on some former occasions, referring men not only to the secret mercies of God, but to the fact that no precise period of time is laid down in Scripture as absolutely necessary to the work of repentance; and concluding with some admirable rules for the conduct of a penitent under such unhappy circumstances. Such a man, he tells us, by self-examination, confession, restitution, submission to God's will, and a readiness to suffer whatever can come, by pouring out his complaints with great fervour and humility, and adding the best resolutions and the warmest charity in his power, may do "all that can be done at that time, and as well as it can then be done." He concludes this branch of his subject, as he does all his other chapters, with very moving and appropriate prayers, which are remarkably plainer, and, therefore, I think, much better than those in his "Life of Christ," and his "Holy Living."

I have mentioned this particular case of penitence, in the first instance, because it was this in which the harshness which Taylor predicates of his own work was chiefly likely to have appeared, and in which his previous expressions had been such as to excite a prejudice against the whole treatise. This, however, was not a question on which Taylor so much differed from contemporary divines, as he did on some other and very important topics which were naturally involved in the "Doctrine of Repentance," and, more particularly, of sins of infirmity. I mean the question of the origin and amount of man's natural inability to serve or please his Maker.

On this point Taylor has expressed himself, in his preface, prepared to expect the charge of a departure from the doctrine of the church of England; and, as we have seen, he had already, in a former work, used language which might justly expose him to that suspicion. It may, therefore, be desirable to enter a little more fully into the principles which he really maintained, and the grounds on which he maintained them, both because those principles,—though not always cautiously expressed, were, in fact, much nearer

the truth than they have been sometimes represented; and because it will not be very difficult to show wherein consisted that inaccuracy of reasoning which led him into a partial heterodoxy.

The plan of Taylor's "Essay on Repentance," if not necessarily, at least naturally, involved a discussion of original sin, and its consequences. He began by proving the necessity of repentance; — secondly, he went on to discuss its nature; thirdly, he proceeded to examine the things which are to be repented of.

Having, under the third head, discussed and overturned the Romish distinction between mortal and venial sins, (proving that all presumptuous and unrepented sin must be mortal,) and having prescribed the manner in which "actual single sins," and "habitual sins," were to be sorrowed for and forsaken, he was led to inquire what other sins, if any, there were, which needed a particular repentance?

And here, two questions occurred, first, whether men are bound to repent of original sin? And, secondly, in what light are sins of infirmity to be regarded?

The first question naturally arose from the tenets then popular among divines. The second from the large allowance which men of carnal minds were apt to make themselves, when they contended that the existence of extremely sinful habits might not be inconsistent with a state of grace, inasmuch as the corruptions of nature still clung to the elect, and it was not they who transgressed, but sin which dwelt in them.

These points disposed of, the remainder of the discussion proceeded in its regular channel. The author, in the ninth chapter of his work, went on to show the possibility of repentance, and its efficacy to the remission of sin. Under this head were involved some very curious secondary topics, as to the principles and practice of the ancient church with regard to those who had fallen into transgression after baptism; and the nature of "the sin against the Holy Ghost, and in what sense it is or may be unpardonable."

The tenth chapter treated of the fruits of repentance; — of the efficacy or inefficacy of that imperfect sorrow for sin which the Roman Catholics call "*attrition*;" — of the vanity of confession, absolution, penance, and all the other

machinery of the Romish system, to procure pardon without a real "contrition," accompanied with some admirable observations on the nature and proper use of these ecclesiastical helps to repentance and comforts to the penitent.

Each portion of the work concludes with applicable prayers, conceived in Taylor's warmest spirit of devotion, and in his improved and more simple style. The whole treatise evidently marks a man in earnest for the salvation of souls, and actuated by the feeling which he describes as his principal motive for undertaking it:—"Tu autem conversus, confirma fratres!"—"I hope," are his words, "I have received many of the mercies of a repenting sinner, and I have felt the turnings and varieties of spiritual intercourses; and I have often observed the advantages in ministering to others, and am most confident that the greatest benefits of our office may, with best effect, be communicated to souls in personal and particular ministrations. In the following book I have given advices, and have asserted many truths in order to all this. I have endeavoured to break in pieces almost all those propositions, upon the confidence of which men have been negligent of severe and strict living; I have cancelled some false grounds on which many answers in moral theology used to be made to inquiries in cases of conscience; I have, according to my weak ability, described all the necessities and great inducements of a holy life; and have endeavoured to do it so plainly, that it may be useful to every man, and so inoffensively, that it may hurt no man[b]."

I have stated these particulars both to show the manner in which the offensive section is connected with the body of the work, and, still more, to convince those who might otherwise have turned away from that work as controversial, or, perhaps, heretical, that by far the greatest proportion of its contents is purely and valuably practical; that they who may dissent most strongly from his conclusions in particular chapters, may read the rest with abundant approbation and advantage, and that, more particularly, his observations on mortal and venial sins; on the sin against the Holy Ghost, —and, on the devices of the Romish clergy, are distin-

[b] Vol. viii. p. ccliv.

guished by great originality and justness of sentiment, by acute argument, and a wide and critical acquaintance with Scripture and ecclesiastical antiquity.

The question, "Whether men are bound to repent of original sin?"—he might, perhaps, have answered by observing simply, (as he has incidentally noticed), that by the consent of those theologians who have attached most importance to it, original sin is remitted in baptism as to any punishment which might accrue from it; that, though it adheres to us, it is not penally imputed to us, and that what is innate and unavoidable is a misfortune, not a transgression, and, therefore, no proper subject for repentance.

Nor is the solidity of this answer shaken by the opinion of Augustine, that "all our life-time, we are bound to mourn for the inconveniences and evil consequences derived from original sin;"—or by the determination of our church that "concupiscence," (which is allowed, on all hands, to be a necessary consequent of Adam's fall, and a mode in which the original corruption shows itself,) "partakes of the nature of sin."

It is, no doubt, a legitimate cause for *concern*, in those who either desire God's glory, or the happiness of their fellow-creatures, that they have no worthier sacrifice to render to the one than such imperfect services as only are in our power,—and that the other are, (under the present state of things) exposed to so much misery which we can neither remove nor materially alleviate. And a knowledge of our fallen condition, as it must necessarily make us humble and cautious, so it may well serve to excite in us an aspiration after a better and happier existence,—the very glories of which, while we are banished from them, must make the heart sick with hope delayed.

If this, however, be called repentance, it is an improper use of the term, which is usually and correctly applied to such a sorrow as is excited by the commission of actions which we might have left undone, or by a neglect of such wise or virtuous deeds as have been in our power. It follows, therefore, that repentance, in its proper meaning, is not applicable to original sin.

It is very true, (though Taylor has, in vain and very needlessly, laboured to get rid of the supposed difficulty),

that whatever is displeasing to God and contrary to the purposes of his creation, is a *sin;* though, if it arises from causes over which we have no control, a merciful God will not impute it to us. And it is thus that "concupiscence," like every evil thought, is said by our church to "partake of the nature of sin," inasmuch as the overt act of an unclean desire is in itself offensive to the God of purity, though, unless we encourage or indulge in it, the God of mercy may overlook it in us, as a necessary consequence of our fallen condition; a monument of that wretchedness from which we are made free by Christ. But this will not put it into our power to repent of what we cannot help, though it may exalt our notions of God's goodness, as well as of our own daily dependance on his bounty and daily need of his forgiveness.

Still, however, the question remained, "if we cannot repent of original sin, why are we to be punished for it?" a difficulty which Taylor solved by cutting the knot at once, and denying that any man, for original sin alone, would be punished with damnation. A conclusion this was which all Arminians and some Calvinists would join him in maintaining, but in arriving at which his process was not a happy one.

The answer, apparently most obvious, and which, as I conceive, would have been most consistent with the general language of inspiration, would have been, that, without extenuating the amount of human corruption, or the fatal consequences which, if things had been left to their natural course, must have been incurred by all Adam's posterity; it is plain from Scripture that, in point of fact, the world never was thus left to itself. Where iniquity abounded, grace did much more abound. The promise of a Redeemer was made as soon as our first parents had sinned, and before they had earned their name of parent; and the sacrifice of Christ is allowed, on all hands, to have had a retrospective as well as a prospective efficacy, which, in all those who were brought to a knowledge of him, either before or after his coming, was fruitful of grace to enable them to struggle against their innate corruption, and of merciful atonement to free them from the punishment of those stains which still adhered to their nature.

To the objection that this dispensation only applied to the converted and baptized,—to those who had received the knowledge and badge of salvation, while infants unbaptized, and heathens, remained liable to God's wrath, and heirs of utter damnation,—he might have rejoined, that all such must be left to the uncovenanted mercies of a good and gracious Father; or he might have given, perhaps, a more plausible answer still,—that the merits of Christ's death and intercession may extend far beyond the limits of his visible church; that his grace may supply the unavoidable deficiencies of those who have not heard his name; and that many may be led by his Spirit, and saved by his blood, who have only known of God that "he is, and that he is the rewarder of them that diligently seek him." This is pretty nearly the account which is given by the bishop of Winchester, in his able commentary on the eighteenth article of our church; nor do I know any solution which can more satisfactorily reconcile the certainty and greatness of the natural corruption of man, and his consequent need of a Redeemer, with the fact that the name of this Redeemer is not yet made known to all, and the presumption that a just and merciful God will not treat the impotent as if they were wilfully rebellious.

Unfortunately, Taylor went to work by another process, and busied himself, first, in extenuating the greatness and evil consequences of Adam's fall; next in exalting the free-will and remaining powers of man; lastly, in denying that concupiscence could be in itself sinful unless it proceeded to a deliberate and cherished image, to which the soul reverted with pleasure.

His opinion as to the first of these points was the same with some of the schoolmen[c], who believed that Adam, as first created, was no better nor wiser than any of his descendants; but that, when he was placed in Paradise, a supernatural grace was given to him, which enabled him to please God; to resist temptation,—and, by the use of the appointed and sacramental means, to live for ever.

Accordingly, the effect of his fall was, when thus explained, no more than a return to his natural condition, and

[c] Note (YY.)

his children lost nothing but the prospect of succeeding to certain valuable privileges which were theirs in reversion only, and were not inherent but superadded gifts, even in the instance of their first parent.

If he erred in the adoption of this doctrine, he certainly erred in good company, inasmuch as the same was maintained by Bull and by archbishop King[d]. It is, however, a doctrine which can hardly stand the test of Scripture, which not only is silent as to any superadded qualifications conferred on Adam to enable him to keep the first covenant, but which, moreover, expressly tells us, that God created man upright. The question, however, is apparently of no practical importance, since at whatever time Adam received the perfections of his being, whether at or after his creation, the consequences of the loss of those perfections would be the same both to himself and his descendants.

Taylor, however, went on to deny that the depravation of man's nature, after the fall, was so total as had been generally apprehended; and to attack the conclusions of the Westminster divines, who maintained, not only that man was "*very far* gone from original righteousness," but that he was *altogether* perverted, and incapable of any thing but evil.

He asserted, on the contrary, that, amid the deplorable ruin of the world, some fragments of the Divine image might yet be discovered; that not only freedom of will remained, but that, in some particular cases, the tendency of man was on the side of virtue. — "A man cannot naturally hate God, if he knows any thing of him. — A man naturally loves his parents; he naturally hates some sort of uncleanness; He naturally loves and preserves himself; and all those sins which are unnatural, are such which nature hates; and the law of nature commands all the great instances of virtue, and marks out all the great lines of justice." — "Here only our nature is defective. We do not naturally know, nor yet naturally love, those supernatural excellencies which are appointed and commanded by God, as the means of bringing us to a supernatural condition. That is, without God's grace, and the renovation of the Spirit, we cannot be saved[e]."

[d] Bull — Discourse on the first Covenant. Sermons, vol. iii. p. 1065. King on the Origin of Evil, chap. iv. sect. 8. p. 211. Ed. Cantab.

[e] Vol. ix. p. 41.

Here, too, it is probable, that most Arminians will agree that he had a juster view of human nature as it now exists, and pursued a more correct interpretation of some well-known passages of Scripture than his opponents. He has here, in fact, said no more than bishop Butler and the bishop of Winchester have both maintained in discussing the same intricate subject[r].

The fact is, indeed, that, with the allowances which all these divines have made,—the difference between their view of man's corruption, and that which is taken by the Calvinists, is not, as to any practical consequence, worth disputing. Both sides allow that man is so far fallen as to be unable, without grace, to rise to heaven or escape everlasting punishment; and Taylor, in particular, has, in many of his argumentative, and all his devotional passages, admitted in the humblest language, his vileness, his helplessness, his worthlessness. But, if the ruin be effectual, it signifies little whether it be total; and if man is, by nature, the heir of wrath, it is a question of very inferior importance, whether there may or may not be some scattered good qualities yet remaining about him, which may make a difference in his final lot, so far at least as a mitigation of punishment. Augustine himself never taught that Socrates and Marcus Aurelius were to be ranked in the same category of eternal suffering, with Simon Magus and Nero; but Augustine, nevertheless, like the Romish church, and the Calvinists, was peremptory in consigning them to some portion of everlasting misery, and, in fact, if it be allowed that no flesh can escape except through Christ, it seems absolutely necessary, if we would escape from these revolting consequences, to suppose, as has been already hinted, an extension of the merits of Christ's blood, and the help of his Holy Spirit, beyond the limits of the visible church, and the list of those who have heard the tidings of salvation.

This Taylor appears, from some expressions in his "further Explications," to have suspected[s]. But he has not followed up this presumption to any length, and, in consequence, fluctuates between Augustine and Pelagius, too deeply

[r] Butler's Analogy, pp. 81 and 135. Tomline, Refut. Calv., pp. 2, 3, 4.
[s] Vol. ix. pp. 91, 92, 93.

impressed with the mercy of God to assent to the harsh doctrines of the first; too conscious of the necessity of spiritual illumination to embrace the self-flattery of the second.

This is not the only instance, however, in which he has underrated the consequences of Adam's transgression. He conceives that the sin of Adam and its immediate consequences, were answerable only for a small, "the smallest part," of the present corruption of our species. — "It is not his fault alone, nor ours alone, and neither of us is innocent." — "A great part is a natural impotency, and the other is brought in by our own folly." He imputes it, in great part, to the "many *concurrent* causes of evil which have influence upon communities of men, such as are, evil examples, the similitude of Adam's transgression, vices of princes, wars, impurity, ignorance, error, false principles, flattery, interest, fear, partiality, authority, evil laws, heresy, schism, spite and ambition, natural inclination, and other principiant causes, which, proceeding from the natural weakness of human constitution, are the fountain and proper causes of many consequent evils [h]."

Surely to represent those as *concurrent* causes, which, by his own account of them, *proceed from* the great and common cause, is neither good logic nor good divinity. It is not even correct to say that the evil which is within us, and always ready to break forth on occasion, is materially increased by what are, at most, its exciting causes, and some of which are only the different modes and places in which the same internal corruption shows itself.

If it were true, which he supposes, after St. Chrysostom [i], that "Adam having begun the principal of sin, we have added the interest;" that "every age grows worse, and adds some iniquity of its own to the former examples," we should have long since arrived at an insuperable and insufferable height of iniquity; the earth would have loathed us as she loathed the Canaanites, and the "cursed race" would have been, ere now, exterminated by its increasing vices and violence.

But experience reads us a lesson extremely different.

[h] Vol. ix. p. 44. [i] Ib. p. 57.

She gives us no reason to believe that any given form of society which the world has yet seen, has less than its share of peculiar occasions of evil. If civilized and polished society has more temptations, it has also more salutary restraints; and even the dangers which beset such a state of existence, are, if more numerous, hardly so formidable, as those of the earlier and ruder pages of history, where force is the law, and the strong man, and he only, "does that which is right in his own eyes."

So far from a progressive increase of wickedness, from the hypothesis of a golden age, deteriorated slowly into silver, brass, and iron; we find, on the contrary, while the family of man was small, and the intercourse of man with God not yet unfrequent; while want and tyranny, and the snares of larger communities were unknown, and while the recent punishment of the species, and the dreadful forms of the cherubim, yet visible on the ascent to Paradise, must have prevented all causes of depravity, but the one great cause, from operating, the first-born of Adam, for a very small offence, if any offence at all, the deliberate murderer of his brother. And, while the natural life of man was yet a thousand years; while the penitent father and monarch of men was scarcely cold in his grave; we read of the earth being full of violence, and of sins which called down a common destruction on all but a single family.

These facts may convince us that we suffer not from a slowly accumulated burden, but from a malady at once contracted; that there is no reason to believe that the first access of wickedness was slighter than its more confirmed stages; or that any one age of the world has sufficient reason to complain of a greater abundance of iniquity than its fellows. On the whole, perhaps, the more polished and educated ages have the advantage, and the admonition of Protagoras might apply to those who desire the homeliness of a more simple state of society.

Ὅντως ἀμαὶ καὶ νῦν, ὁτις σοι ἀδικωτατος φαινεται ἀνθρωπος τῶν ἐν νομοις καὶ ἀνθρωποις τεθραμμενων, δικαιον αὐτον εἶναι, καὶ δημιουργον τουτου του πραγματος, εἰ δεοι αὐτον κρινεσθαι προς ἀνθρωπους ὁις μητε παιδειμ ὁτι μητε δικαστηρια, μητε νομοι, μητε ἀναγκη μηδεμια διαπαντος ἀναγκαζουσα ἀρετης ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰεν ἀγριοι τινες, ὁιοι περ ὁυς περυσι Φερεκρατης ὁ ποιητης ἐδιδαξεν ἐπι Λιναιῳ· ἢ σφοδρα ἐν τοῖς

τοιουτοις ἀνθρωποις γενομενος, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν ἐκεινῳ τῳ χορῳ μισανθρωποι, ἀγαπησαις ἀν ἐι ἐντυχοις Ἐυρυβατῳ και Φρυνωνδᾳ, και ἀνολοφυραι ἀν ποθῶν την τῶν ἐνθαδε ἀνθρωπων πονηριαν [k].

There are other incidental topics in the Essay on Repentance, and its apologies, on which the dicta of Taylor must be received with caution. He, in one passage, while reckoning up the causes which have added to the stock of Adam's original corruption, mentions, as one of them, the silence of God, during the earliest ages of the world, on the subject of a life beyond the grave.

"The first great cause of an universal impiety is, that, at first, God had made no promises of heaven; he had not propounded any glorious rewards, to be as an argument to support the superior faculty against the inferior, that is, to make the will choose the best and leave the worst, and to be as a reward for suffering contradiction." — "If God had been pleased to have promised to Adam the glories he hath promised to us, it is not to be supposed he had fallen so easily. But he did not, and so he fell, and all the world followed his example, and most upon this account; till it pleased God, after he had tried the world with temporal promises, and found them also insufficient," — "to cause us to be born anew by the revelations and promises of Jesus Christ [l]."

To say nothing of the inconsistency with which a writer who is the strenuous advocate of man's free-will, lest God should be suspected to be the author of sin, imputes to God in almost express words, a suppression of those lights, which only are effectual to keep men from sin; there are few mistakes more palpable, or more easily refuted, than that which supposes the ancient Israelites, or their patriarchal ancestors, to have been without a knowledge of the immortality of the soul. The book of Job (perhaps the oldest in the world), expressly acknowledges it; St. Paul, when reasoning on the words of Jacob, respecting his pilgrimage, speaks in a manner which proves that, in his opinion, the father of the tribes expected such an enduring city; — the repeated promises of the Messiah, to arise from the race of Abraham, could have been no comfort to those who were,

[k] Plato, Protagoras, Op. iii. 121. Ed. Bipont. [l] Pp. 42, 43.

many generations before his coming, to be laid to sleep in the cave of Macpelah, unless they expected that they also were to awaken, and, with their descendants, to share in the privileges which that great Redeemer was to purchase. It is humiliating to see any men of genius and learning involved in the defence of such a paradox; but what shall be said when those men are Jeremy Taylor and Warburton?

Still, as has been already shown, in the practical and devotional parts, and even in those chapters which, exclusively, contain the erroneous assertions to which I have alluded, there is abundance which may be read with admiration and improvement. He has sifted with uncommon force and learning the errors of Calvinism, as they respect the absolute decrees of God, and the damnation of unbaptized infants. His defence of free-will from the writings of the early fathers will, though shorter, bear no unfavourable comparison with bishop Tomline's learned and able treatise on the same subject; and, on the whole, though the work is by no means faultless, it is still the work of the same author with the Liberty of Prophesying, and the Holy Living and Dying.

Having thus largely discussed the difference which, on the topic of original sin, existed between Taylor and the majority of the Church of England, — it is unnecessary for me to take any further notice of the works in which he re-stated and justified his peculiar opinion, the letters to Warner, and that to the Countess of Devonshire.

I pass on, therefore, to the essay which follows next in the series, and which is also dedicated to Warner; his "Real Presence and Spiritual of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, proved against the Doctrine of Transubstantiation," — a powerful and learned disquisition, of which the conclusions and doctrines deserve unqualified praise; though, even here, a desire to conciliate his antagonists, or an anxiety to raise as high as possible the honour of the Christian altar, has involved him occasionally in an illogical mode of reasoning, and thrown a needless obscurity around a plain doctrine of the Protestant church, and some very clear and comfortable texts of Scripture.

Thus he begins with stating the doctrine of the Protestants as to Christ's presence in the sacrament, as if it were,

that "the symbols become changed into the body and blood of Christ, after a sacramental, that is, in a *spiritual, real* manner; so that all that worthily communicate, do by faith receive Christ really, effectually, and to all the purposes of his passion." In these words his meaning is pretty evident, but his manner of expression is hardly accurate.

How does he understand the word *sacramental*? He would probably answer, that a sacrament is a symbol; a sign of something besides itself,—"a means whereby we receive the thing intended, and a pledge to assure us thereof." In the present instance, then, it is a sign of Christ's body and blood; it is a means whereby our souls partake in the graces flowing from his sacrifice, and a pledge to assure us of our participation in those benefits. But, with "sacramental," in this sense, the term *real* is utterly inconsistent, inasmuch as the change which "sacramental" implies is figurative and conventional only. If a counter is taken to pass for a guinea, a change has undoubtedly taken place in its virtues and its effects, but it has not become a real golden coin. It is conventionally worth more than it was, but it is ivory and a counter still. And though we reverence the bread and wine after consecration, as the authentic image of the body and blood of him who died for us, it is not correct to say that any *real* change has taken place in their nature, though they have undoubtedly become the means of our obtaining a spiritual blessing. There are, in Scripture, two meanings of the word spiritual: the one, something detached from and superior to matter; which is, apparently the sense in which St. Paul, (in Taylor's own illustration,) contrasts the heavenly or spiritual tabernacle, with that tent which Moses set up as its image: the other, what we should more usually express by *virtual*, as when the same apostle speaks of himself as present in spirit, in the sentence pronounced in his absence, but by his authority, on the incestuous Corinthian. In this latter sense, the thing signified or represented is always spiritually present with its sign or representation, provided that this last is, in the first place, authentic; and, secondly, empowered to produce the same effect which its principal, if present, would have done. Thus, Christ was spiritually present as a Redeemer and a sacrifice for sin, in all the rites of the Jewish law, which, by God's appointment,

shadowed out the benefits which his death was to bestow; and conveyed a share in those benefits to the Israelites, who partook in them faithfully. And this, as I conceive, is the sense in which he is also apprehended to be present in his capacity of victim, and to give his body and blood for our spiritual support, in the sacrament of the eucharist.

But this virtual presence is so far from a *real* one, that it is absolutely opposed to it. And this is the reason why the Romanists, who maintain the latter in its grossest sense, contend so strongly against the former; so that the word *real*, as Taylor has introduced it, is unmeaning or worse; inasmuch as for the elements to be *really* changed into the body and blood of Christ, is the very thing for which the Romanists plead, and which is at complete variance with Taylor's previous statement, as well as with all his subsequent arguments.

Still, it may be urged, the doctrine of Taylor is really the doctrine of the reformed churches; as, where the Church of England teaches that "the body and blood of Christ are *verily* and *indeed* taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's supper." And where Calvin maintains, that "in the supper Jesus Christ, (viz. his body and blood,) is truly and indeed given under the signs of bread and wine."

But neither of these expressions favour the reality of the presence, though both explicitly set forth the efficacy of the symbols. These are very different assertions, and, in common life, a distinction is continually made between them. An estate is conveyed by the delivery of the title-deeds, a kingdom by the imposition of a crown. The enjoyment and possession both of the one and the other become, from that time, real and actual, though the estate may be in Cumberland, while the transaction of exchange or purchase takes place in London; and though, unquestionably, the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland are not really within that golden circle which is the pledge and sign of sovereignty. What, indeed, is the meaning of any thing being present under its symbols or representations, unless it be that the thing itself is not there, but that there is something else which supplies its place? Or, what but this can be the meaning of the *spiritual* presence of

a *substance*? It is plain, then, that our reformers, in denying the *bodily* change of the elements, admitted no *real* change in them at all; though they did not fail to recognise the presence of a *Divine Power*, which communicated to those who partook in them faithfully, a share in the sacrifice and an union with the mystical body of the Lamb slain on Calvary.

But, though he has thus encumbered his proposition with unnecessary difficulties, and expressed it in terms which hardly express the meaning of those whom he defends; yet the proposition itself, that Christ's body is no otherwise than spiritually present in the sacrament, he has established in his following sections, with great acuteness and learning.

He begins by proving that the doctrine of transubstantiation is not found in Scripture: first, by the admission of some of the most celebrated doctors of the Romish church; secondly, by a critical examination of the two principal passages which are usually urged in its behalf, the 6th chapter of St. John, and the words in which our Saviour instituted the sacraments.

On the first of these he has, perhaps, gone too far, in denying that it relates to the sacrament at all, or to any thing but Christ's doctrine, and the faith which lays hold on it. This is contrary to the general opinion of the church; and it is strange that, if Christ had not, in this instance also, intended to allude to the eucharist, he should afterwards, when speaking of another thing, describe it in words not merely like, but identical.

Taylor, indeed, urges, that if the eucharist were intended, it would follow that no man could be saved without partaking in it; and therefore that infants, fools, and persons who are impeded by restraint or distance, must all necessarily perish. But this argument is worth little, since it would only put the one sacrament on the same footing with the other, as being, *in subjecto capaci*, the ordinary means of grace and salvation, without necessarily inferring that they who have not the means of obtaining it are to perish, any more than the penitent thief perished for want of baptism. No man is bound to an impossibility; but a neglect of the appointed means, when in our power, may be damnable in the one case as well as in the other. And this is all which necessarily

follows from the supposition that Christ intended the sacrament when he said, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you."

He is more successful, however, when he goes on to observe that, supposing it to refer to the sacrament, it is plain that the eating and drinking here spoken of must not be material, but spiritual; first, because the men of Capernaum were reproved for understanding his expressions in their gross and literal sense; secondly, because, whoever eats Christ's flesh hath eternal life. But this must be meant of a spiritual eating, and one which is effected by faith alone; since, if the eating were *bodily*, and the elements, as the Romanists pretend, were changed in *substance*, the wicked might eat Christ as well as the worthy communicant. But, again, what Christ calls his body, he also calls bread, (ver. 51, 58); if, therefore, the words are taken literally, they may prove consubstantiation, but not transubstantiation, since the last implies a total change of the element. And consubstantiation even the Romanists allow to be impossible.

The argument drawn from the words of institution he invalidates with equal success. In the first place, he observes, that, out of the whole sentence, "Take, eat, this is my body," &c. the Church of Rome separates "Hoc est corpus meum," and says, that "these words, pronounced by the priest with due intention, do effect the change of the bread into Christ's body."—"But, by what argument can it be proved that these words, 'take and eat,' are not as effective of the change as 'Hoc est corpus meum?' If they be, then the taking and eating do consecrate, and it is not Christ's body till it is taken and eaten; and then, when that is done, it is so no more; and, besides that reservation, circumgestation, adoration, elevation of it, must of themselves fall to the ground, it will also follow, that it is Christ's body only in a mystical, spiritual, and sacramental manner. That Christ used these words is true, and so he used all the other; but did not tell which were the consecrating words, nor appoint them to use these words, but to do the thing, and so to remember and represent his death."

St. Basil, he goes on to urge, affirms that the form of the consecration of the eucharist is not delivered to us; and St. Gregory teaches, that "the apostles consecrated the

eucharist only by saying the Lord's Prayer;" and, above all, it is apparent, that the apostles did not suppose these words to be of so vital importance to the efficacy of the sacrament, as the Church of Rome maintains, since the evangelists and St. Paul write these very expressions differently.

But, if the Roman Catholics make use of these words in a *proper*, not in a figurative sense, then it is a declaration of something already in being, and not effective of any thing after it. "Est" is "is," not "shall be;" but "by the confession of the Roman doctors, the bread is not transubstantiated till the *um* in *meum* be quite out." — "They affirm, that it is made Christ's body, by saying it is Christ's body; but their saying so must suppose the thing done, or else their saying so is false; and, if it be done before, then, to say it, does not do it at all, because it is done already." The thing is simple, if the words are regarded as declaratory only of the designation of the elements; but, if a change is to be operated, at what time does this change begin; and how, when it is, at most, only inchoate, can we speak of it as completed?

But, what is stronger and more to the purpose than all this ingenious fencing with the Romanists at their own weapons, he reminds us that, as the eucharist itself was, in the external and ritual part, an imitation of a sacramental custom already in use among the Jews; so also were the very words which Christ spoke an imitation of the words which were used in that ancient ceremony. The Jews said, "This is the bread of sorrow which our fathers ate in Egypt." — "This is the passover;" — and this passover was called the body of the Paschal Lamb; nay, it was called the body of our Saviour, and our Saviour himself." — "So that here the words were made ready for Christ, and made his by appropriation." — "He is the true passover, which he then affirming, called that which was the antitype of the passover, the 'body' of the true passover, to wit, in the same sacramental sense in which the like words were affirmed in the Mosaical passover[m]."

But, as an additional reason to make us conclude that Christ called the bread his body in a figurative sense, he

[m] Vol. ix. p. 469.

urges that, in the language which he spoke, there is no word which can express "significat;" but they use the word "*is*."—"The Hebrews and the Syrians always join the names of the signs with the things signified; and, since the very essence of a sign is to signify, it is not an improper elegancy, in those languages, to use *est* for *significat*." In the New Testament, the same manner of speaking is retained, as he proves from "the field *is* the world,"—"I *am* the door," "My Father *is* the husbandman," "the candlesticks *are* the churches," &c.

It is reasonable, therefore, to believe that Christ spoke on this occasion as he spoke on others; more particularly since the very institution of the sacrament is, in itself, representative, significant, and commemorative, (according both to St. Paul and our Saviour himself,) of the death and sufferings of the latter.

And, that all sacraments and transactions of the kind were, in ancient days, accompanied with figurative and significant words and actions, he proves by the fact that μυστηριον is the word used by the Greeks to express our word sacrament; that, in Exodus, the paschal lamb is called "the passover," that is, the passing of the angel over the houses of Israel; and, that this instance is so much the more apposite, because it is the forerunner of the blessed eucharist, which succeeded that, as baptism did circumcision.—In this manner six sections are occupied.

In the seventh section, he establishes the same figurative explication of the words, from the manner and circumstances of the institution, from the fact that, before his passion, his body was not really broken nor his blood shed; so that the broken bread and the wine poured out must have been his body, not truly, but figuratively; from the presumption that it cannot be imagined that the apostles understood it in the literal sense, when they saw his body stand by, unbroken, alive, integral, hypostatical; and that, as the words of institution show that it was designed to represent his *death*, which was then future, it could not be necessary or useful to introduce on such an occasion his *real* body; since, if this had been the case, the shadow would have become the substance, and the sacrifice of Christ for the sins of the world

would have taken place before his sufferings on Mount Calvary.

What follows is admirably clear and rational: —

"It is but an imperfect conception of the mystery to say, that it is the sacrament of Christ's body only, or his blood; but it is "ex parte rei," a sacrament of the death of his body: and to us a participation or exhibition of it, as it became beneficial to us; that is, as it was crucified, as it was our sacrifice. And this is so wholly agreeable to the nature of the thing, and the order of the words, and the body of the circumstances, that it is next to that which is evident in itself, and needs no farther light but the considering the words and the design of the institution: especially, since it is consonant to the style of Scripture in the sacrament of the passover, and very many other instances. It wholly explicates the nature of the mystery, it reconciles our duty with the secret, it is free of all inconveniences, it prejudices no right, nor hinders any real effect it hath or can have; and it makes the mystery intelligible and prudent, fit to be discoursed of and inserted into the rituals of a wise religion."[a]

In the 8th and 9th sections, he discusses the arguments advanced from Scripture in favour of transubstantiation, and adduces many scriptural arguments for the opposite side. In the 10th, he shows, at considerable length, the absurdity of believing any thing which is in direct opposition to the senses.

This is one of the most curious and able parts of the treatise, in which he discusses many important questions, of God's power; of the distinction between things which may be the proper subject of a miracle, and things naturally impossible; of the different properties of body and of spirit; of the distinction between a belief in transubstantiation and in the Holy Trinity; of the remarkable circumstances under which Christ appeared to the apostles after his resurrection; of the impossibility of conceiving an accident in a state of separation from its substance, and of the absurd and even blasphemous consequences which result from representing the body of Christ as contained under the accident of bread

[a] Vol. ix. p. 494.

and wine. — The whole is a treasury of sound logical argument and acute criticism; but it would be difficult to find any particular specimen which would not be too long for selection.

The 12th section is employed in showing the comparatively recent introduction of the doctrine in question into the church, and that it was unknown, or, at least, not received by the most considerable of the fathers. In discussing the sentiments of some of these, he had, certainly, expressions to encounter which might have perplexed an ordinary controversialist; but Taylor's knowledge of their writings and their peculiar style was so extensive, that he was able to distinguish, with remarkable acuteness, between assertions which really apply to the point in question and those which are equally reconcileable with either hypothesis, — those which prove too much, or those which only seem to tell against the Protestants through an ignorance of the hyperbolical language usual with the writers of those ages.

To these alleged testimonies, he opposes many others, — from Tertullian, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Cyprian, Eusebius, Ephren Syrus, Epiphanius, Macarius, Gregory of Nazianzum, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Augustine, and Gelasius.

He very sensibly remarks, that, as his object is to prove a negative, and to show that the doctrine of transubstantiation was not the universal or catholic doctrine of the church, it was not necessary for him to produce a general consent, or even a majority of the ancient writers; since, if even a smaller number of the eldest and most considerable dissented, it is plain that the doctrine which he opposed could not answer to the rule of Vincentius Lirinensis, "Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus." He also observes, that, though rhetorical exaggeration, hyperbolical expresaions of love and reverence, and other causes of the same kind, may have led the fathers to use many phrases stronger than their sober opinion warranted, on the side of the Romish doctors; yet, in opposition to the hypothesis of a real bodily presence, they would never have spoken that which they did not seriously believe and intend to maintain; inasmuch as it could never be their object to under-

value or diminish from the intrinsic dignity of the holy sacrament.

He remarks, that so far was transubstantiation from being a Catholic doctrine, that it was fiercely disputed among Catholics in the time of Charles the Bald; when the contrary was maintained by Rabanus, Bertram, and, above all, by the illustrious scholar Duns Scotus. In England, much later, the same opinion might be held unblamed; and even the Lateran Council pronounced nothing against it; though, thirty-six years after, in 1251, a council of only fifty-four prelates, held at Rome, thought fit to declare the real presence an article of faith. Stephen, bishop of Augustodunum, in 1100, first invented the word "transubstantiation."—"He christened the article and gave the name, and this congregation confirmed it."

In the thirteenth and concluding section, he examines the practical part of the dispute, and demonstrates, against the Romanists, the danger of paying divine honour to that which, even on their own principles, (through many circumstances of secret imperfection in the words spoken, the intention, or the personal character of the minister,) may be no more than bread, and which no good or sufficient argument has been advanced to prove that it can be God.

He relates, on the authority of Bishop Andrews, a remarkable instance in which the Jesuits, who were to die for the Gunpowder treason, refused to stake their salvation on their assurance that the bread and wine were the very body and blood which had been sacrificed for their sins; and when Garnet replied, that though the general doctrine was certain, a man might well doubt of the particular instance. And he urges, that "as we must pray with faith and without doubting, so it is fit we should worship; and yet, in this case, and upon these premises, no man can choose but death, and therefore he ought not to worship: '*Quod dubitas ne feceris.*'"

He concludes with an eloquent picture of the scandal thus given to Jews and Turks, and the ill effects of the example on heathen idolaters.

The style of this essay, as well as of those which follow it, is easy, clear, flowing, and vigorous, with less of his

characteristic eloquence than some of those productions which I have already noticed, but extremely well calculated to sustain attention, and to carry his reader without fatigue through an intricate and lengthened argument. There are, however, some instances of eloquence as well as power, and there are several in which he has indulged in a tone of sarcastic humour which seems to show that his talent for satire might have been (had he chosen to employ it,) as considerable as any of his other powers of composition. Such a passage occurs in his dedication, where he observes that, because the doctors of the Romish church "met with opponents at all hands, they proceeded to a more vigorous way of arguing: they armed legions against their adversaries; *they confuted at one time* in the town of Beziers, *sixty thousand persons; and, in one battle, disputed so prosperously and acutely, that they killed about ten thousand men that were sacramentaries.* And this Bellarmine gives as an instance of the works of his church; this way of arguing was used in almost all the countries of Christendom, till, by crusadoes, massacres and battles, burnings and the constant carnificia and butchery of the inquisition, (which is the main proof of the papacy, and does more than 'Tu es Petrus,') they prevailed far and near, and men durst not oppose the evidence on which they fought!" Such indignant satire was not ill employed on the sanguinary follies of popery. But of this kind of talent more instances are to be found in his two succeeding essays.

The former of these was, as I have already had occasion to notice,—a task imposed on him by the bishops of the Irish church, and elicited, in a great degree, by the gross and prevalent superstitions of the Irish populace. It is, however, not a work addressed to that populace; indeed, from some expressions in his preface, he seems to have early despaired of its rendering such persons any immediate service. It is addressed, throughout, to the Irish clergy, and the educated part of the Irish laity; nor am I aware of any work (out of the many which have appeared, and, in their time, done good service to the cause of Protestantism,) so well calculated to answer its object, or to excite, in the mind of a well-informed Papist, a conviction of the necessity of

reformation in his own church, and a belief that this necessary work has been competently effected in ours.

The style is never oratorical, seldom even eloquent in that sense and character of eloquence which a person who has formed his notions of Jeremy Taylor from his sermons and devotional works, would anticipate. But it is easy, buoyant and elastic, effectually removed from the opposite evils of languor or inflation, or that tediousness which is the immediate consequence of both. The English is thoroughly good, natural, and unaffected; with some considerable admixture, indeed, of scholastic terms; but these, for a reason which will be shortly given, entirely appropriate to his subject and his readers. The tone of his controversy is simple, friendly, and affectionate; it is such as a Christian bishop may well hold towards the people of his charge; and he, throughout, abstains, with Christian care, from imputing to the individuals of the party opposed to him a concurrence in, or even a knowledge of, the odious consequences which he frequently deduces from their opinions. Against penal courses of every kind he, in his preface, speaks with the same abhorrence as when he wrote his Liberty of Prophesying; and the spirit of his treatise is the mild and ingratiating spirit of an apology for differing from the Romanists, rather than of a formal attack on their principles. Even his satire, (of which formidable weapon he makes abundant and able use,) is conveyed under the form of "banter," rather than of scoff or insult. Without flattering their prejudices, without even sparing them, he talks to his adversaries as if they were already his friends, or one day to become so. And, above all, he talks to them as a Romanist; he addresses them with a perfect knowledge of their writers,—their ecclesiastical history,—their schoolmen,—their traditions, and their prejudices; a perfect familiarity with both their strong and their weak grounds; a power and habit of appealing to their own writers as his best and most frequent authorities, and a dexterity which has never been exceeded in opposing the contradictions of those writers to each other, laying bare their fallacies, and gently but not insolently exciting indignation against their corruptions, and a smile against their absurdities.

To confirm Protestants in their religion, it may or it may not have power. It presupposes a familiarity with Romish writers which Protestants rarely possess; and those Protestants who are tempted to change their religion for a worse, are generally, as I apprehend, impelled to do so by some single broad and powerful, though mistaken, principle or feeling, which is too concentrated and too closely intrenched in some peculiarity of habit or intellect, to give way to such a war of detail as is carried on by Taylor.

But to shake the former opinions of an intelligent Roman Catholic, and to conciliate him for the reception of new;—to detach him from an implicit confidence in his ancient guides, without inclining him, at the same time, to a sceptical aversion from all guides whatever;—to point out the contradictions of a false religion, without making all religion appear ridiculous,—I know no work which has greater power than the "Dissuasive" of Taylor; except that which, in many respects, it greatly resembles, the "Lettres Provinciales" of Pascal. As a composition, these last, perhaps, have the superiority in dramatic effect, from the lively and eloquent dialogue in which the first part is conveyed, and which is, in some degree, carried on by the tone and spirit of the following letters. But it is of more importance to observe, in an estimate of the merits of the two authors, that all the arguments, the instances, the examples, the "badinage" of Taylor, are urged for the sake of a definite and calculated end; while Pascal's exposition of the morals of the Jesuits and the politics of the court of Rome, conduct to consequences which the author was not prepared to adopt, and from which he would have shrunk back in horror.

The "Dissuasive" is divided into three chapters; the first devoted to the exposure of the different innovations which the church and court of Rome have introduced into the faith and devotions, and ecclesiastical government of Christians. In this he shows that the power of imposing new articles of belief is, in itself, a comparatively modern usurpation; that the same charge of novelty and departure from apostolic and primitive authority may be brought against indulgences, purgatory, transubstantiation and half-communion; the injunction of public prayers in a foreign or obsolete language; the veneration of images; the pictures

of God; the papal supremacy; the invocation of saints; and the supposed insufficiency of Scripture without tradition.

On all these subjects he evinces a knowledge not only of the fathers, but the schoolmen, the divines of the middle ages, and the modern Romish disputants; which few of his antagonists could equal, and, perhaps, still fewer Protestants could have supplied.

Against the alleged power of the church to dictate an article of faith, he urges the words of St. Paul, (Gal. i. 8.) the sentence of the third general council, held at Ephesus, and the notorious abuses of this power by the Romish church, who have determined points of history in opposition to known authorities, and continually, though gradually, added to the ancient staple of orthodoxy.

Against the antiquity of indulgences he brings the testimony of many of their own writers, and fixes their commencement either in the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century. He urges the perfect silence of all antiquity on the subject, and that, in their origin, they were no abatement of any supposed sufferings in purgatory, but a simple absolution from some part of that penance which the confessor had imposed on his living penitent. And though indulgences were, in the time of the fathers, unknown, and no definite censure of them is, therefore, to be looked for in their writings, yet there are in those writings, as well as in Scripture, very many passages destructive of the principle on which indulgences rest; as where the greatest saints are enjoined to regard themselves as unprofitable servants; where we are taught that repentance merely consists in a return to a good life and a sound and active faith; and, more particularly, where we find, as in St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Chrysostom, St. Augustine, and St. Bernard, the custom discommended of going to seek pardon of sins by pilgrimage.

The same subject he pursues when discussing the question of purgatory, which doctrine he judiciously distinguishes from the really ancient doctrine or practice of prayer for the dead, and of which he proves the origin to reach no further back than the eleventh century after Christ, and then to have been held as no article of faith, but merely a speculative opinion. He proves its derogation from the merits of the

blood of Christ, and instances the folly of those legends on the credit of which the notion first gained ground among mankind. The other instances contained in the first chapter he follows up with the same critical acumen, and concludes with the observation, that the Romanists "have taught every priest that can scarce understand his breviary, (of which, in Ireland, there are but too many,) and many of the people, to ask, 'where our religion was before Luther?' Whereas it appears by the premises, that it is much more easy for us to show our religion before Luther, than for them to show theirs before Trent. And although they can show too much practice of their religion in the degenerate ages of the church, yet we can and do clearly show ours in the purest and first ages; and can and do draw lines, pointing to the times and places where the several rooms and stories of their Babel were builded, and where polished, and where furnished.

"But when the keepers of the field slept, and the enemy had sown tares, and they had choked the wheat and almost destroyed it; when the world complained of the infinite errors in the church, and being oppressed by a violent power, durst not complain so much as they had cause: and, when they who had cause to complain, were yet themselves very much abused, and did not complain in all they might; when divers excellent persons, when almost all Christian princes did complain heavily of the corrupt state of the church and of religion, and no remedy could be had, but the very intended remedy" [the general council,] "made things much worse, then it was that divers Christian kingdoms, and particularly the Church of England—

("Tum primum, senio docilis, tua sæcula, Roma,
Erubuit; pudet exacti jam temporis, odit
Præteritos fœdis cum religionibus annos!")

being ashamed of the errors, superstitions, heresies, and impieties, which had deturpated the face of the church, looked in the glass of Scripture and pure antiquity; and washed away those stains with which time and inadvertency, and tyranny, had besmeared her; and being thus cleansed and washed, is accused by the Roman parties of novelty, and condemned, because she refuses to run into the same

excess of riot and deordination. But we cannot deserve blame, who return to our ancient and first health, by preferring a new cure before an old sore*.

The second chapter relates to those doctrines and practices of the Roman church, which "in themselves, or in their true and immediate consequences, direct impieties and give warranty to a wicked life."

In this part of his work, after exposing the danger of the Romish doctrines as to the legality of delaying repentance; proving the inefficacy of what they call attrition, and the defective estimate which they make of that contrition which only can find favour with God; pointing out the practical mischief resulting from confession, penance and satisfaction, as now used by them; and cross-examining and comparing the various and contradictory requisites which, even according to the estimate of their own doctors, are necessary to make indulgences available; he goes on to discuss their erroneous distinctions between mortal and venial sins; and their fancy that the opinion of one grave doctor is enough to make a matter of faith or duty "probable."

He here instances many of the abominable practical tenets which have, on this pretence, been received, or, at least, tolerated; the cases in Toletanus, noticed by Pascal, that, "if a nobleman be set upon and may escape by going away, he is not tied to it, but may kill him that intends to strike him with a stick,"—"that mortal sins become venial when done in the violence of passion or drunkenness;" —that "it is lawful for a man to expose his bastards to the hospital, to conceal his own shame;"—that "if one of a married couple falls into heresy, the marriage is dissolved, and the other may marry another;" with many similar circumstances of horror and absurdity.

Nor can it be pleaded, he observes, in any of these cases, that such an opinion is but the private opinion of one or more of their doctors. This would, indeed, in an article of faith, be an insufficient proof of the opinion of the church in general; but as a rule of life, and in questions between virtue and vice, it is their own avowed and general principle, that

* Vol. x. pp. 185, 186.

"a private opinion of any one grave doctor may be safely followed, or the example of good men." Accordingly, he observes, "if an evil custom get amongst men, that very custom shall legitimate the action, and Christ is not your rule, but the examples of them that live with you, or are in your eye and observation." Those who shall compare these sections with the corresponding passages in the "Lettres Provinciales," will receive no small share both of amusement and advantage; but they will see little reason to postpone the genius of Taylor to that of the learned and witty Frenchman. In piety, it is useless and unnecessary to compare such men as they were, the daily conversation of each of whom was elevated above the world, and who have long since met in peace and happiness amid the quiet shades of paradise.

The following sections are taken up with discussing the foreign or obsolete language of the Romish prayers, the idolatrous nature of many of them, the strange impiety of their system of exorcism; (where he goes over much of the same ground with Reginald Scott, in his "Discovery of Witchcraft;") their confidence in observances merely superstitious and unauthorized; their reliance on the "opus "operatum" of the sacraments, so as to make them not the "instrument," but "the suppletory of virtue;" their direct idolatry in honouring the cross and certain images, even with "latria," or the highest degree of worship which can be paid to the Deity. And he winds up all by observing, that "although we do not doubt, but that the goodness of God does so prevail over all the follies and malice of mankind, that there are in the Roman communion many very good Christians, yet they are not such as they are Papists, but by something that is higher and before that, something that is of an abstract or more sublime consideration. And, though the good people amongst them are what they are by the grace and goodness of God, yet by all or any of these opinions they are not so; but the very best suffer diminution and alloy by these things; and very many are wholly subverted and destroyed[p].

In the last chapter he returns again to the casuistry of

[p] Vol. x. p. 246.

the church of Rome, and the immoral tendency of many of her doctrines, more particularly those which teach that the pope may, under certain circumstances, and to obtain a greater good, dispense with even lawful oaths, and the most solemn and innocent engagements. He urges also the exemption pleaded by their clergy from the temporal power; and the extravagant notions of the right of popes to excommunicate, depose, and even condemn to death, heretical princes. In these observations, however, I am not aware that there is any thing worth particular notice. Enough may have been already said to prove the work of which I am speaking to be, for its length, one of the fullest and ablest expositions of the errors of popery, and to place Jeremy Taylor on as high an elevation among controversial as among devotional and practical writers.

The second part of the "Dissuasive from Popery" was written in vindication of the former from the attacks of two priests, White and Serjeant, the latter of whom, more particularly, he severely chastises in the Introduction, for the slighting manner in which he had spoken of Scripture, and the absurd and illogical character of many of his objections. In the same place, he discusses, at considerable length and with much acuteness, the nature and real value of tradition, and he exposes the Romish notion of the infallibility of the fathers, laying down some admirable rules for the manner in which their authority may be used in the interpretation of Scripture, and in ascertaining the sense of the church at the times in which they respectively flourished. He concludes, that Mr. Serjeant and his party were, in truth, the men that went on no adequate grounds: that "in the Church of Rome there is no 'sure footing,' no certain acknowledged rule of faith; but, while they call for an assent above the nature and necessity of the thing, they have no warrant beyond the greatest uncertainty."

The work itself is divided into two books, each containing several sections. In the first he treats of the meaning of the term "church," under which he includes not the clergy only, nor a small part of them, but the great body of believers. He shows, that even those assemblies, which, under the name of "general councils," have passed for representatives of the church, were, in ancient times, composed

not of bishops only, but other eminent clergymen, and, not infrequently, of laymen; and he examines, in a very free tone, and one which, in many instances, reminds us of the better parts of Jortin,—the slight claims which most of those councils have had to pass for œcumenical; the variable and capricious distinctions which the Church of Rome has made in the different degrees of authority which she ascribes to different councils, and the vague, and, in some cases, impossible tests which she proposes of their validity. He then proceeds to the decisions of the popes, proving from the innumerable contradictions of those briefs themselves, from the impossibility which their own canonists mutually allow, of knowing which is the true pope, when there are different pretenders to the see; or whether he that is acknowledged pope may not have vitiated his election by simony, heresy; or, as in the case of Constantine the Second, defect of holy orders, how hard it may be for a Roman Catholic, even on the received principles of his faith, to determine whether he is in the church or no, or what head he ought to follow. And, after examining and exposing, in a striking peroration, the fifteen marks of the true church proposed by Bellarmine, he concludes with exhorting them to demonstrate their church, if they can, "in the prescript of the law, of the prophets, of the Psalms, of the evangelists, and all the canonical authorities of the holy books[q]."

Having thus shown the utter insufficiency of the guides relied on by the Romish church, he now proceeds to show, in his second chapter, the sufficiency of the sacred volume as a guide to salvation.

To prove that the Scriptures are the only rule of faith acknowledged by antiquity, he pleads the testimonies of almost all the most considerable ecclesiastical writers, and the very name of canon or "rule," which the universal church has given to the Bible. "The word itself," he observes, "ends this inquiry; for it cannot be a canon, if any thing be put to it or taken from it, said St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and Varinus."

The pretence of the difficulty of the Scriptures, which the Romanists have always urged, and which some Pro-

[q] Vol. x. p. 383.

testants, to answer a temporary purpose, have, sometimes, too largely asserted, — he answers by the declarations of Cyril, Chrysostom, Clemens Alexandrinus, Athanasius, and Augustine; confining the δυσνοητα to such points alone as are not necessary to salvation; stating the rule of antiquity that Scripture is to be expounded by Scripture; and that, though God has given other helps in the appointment and preservation of an order of men as guides of souls, yet these last are bound to draw all their doctrines from this single and sacred fountain. A very interesting and amusing chapter on "Traditions" follows, in which he proves that no necessary article of faith depends on tradition alone; except it be that which is, in the first instance, necessary to the reception of the Scriptures themselves, the tradition that they are the word of God, and a sufficient guide to heaven.

Of the particulars which Cardinal Perron, and others, have pretended to rest on tradition only, he shows that (1.) The Trinity may be proved from Scripture, and was so proved at the Nicene council. That (2.) for the baptism of infants there is, at least, a strong presumption from the words and analogy of Scripture; and that, after all, as he seems to account it, it is hardly an essential of salvation. The validity of the baptism of heretics, which is instanced (3.) could never, he says, have been doubted, if men had duly weighed the commission which Christ gave to all ministers of his religion. (4.) The procession of the Holy Ghost both from the Father and the Son, he treats with little ceremony, as an obscure and doubtful question, which cannot be esteemed a necessary article of faith, without damning all the eastern churches; but which may, nevertheless, be probably shown from the sacred writings. (5.) The observation of the Lord's day he denies to be an article of faith, or essentially necessary doctrine; regarding it as a matter of discipline and external rite, and so far from being a successor or substitute for the Jewish sabbath, (which was done away with entirely in the abolition of the Mosaic law), that both days were, at first, kept by the Christians with equal reverence; yet "both with liberty, but with intuition to the avoiding offences, and the interests of religion."—He observes, however, it may be abundantly proved from Scripture, that there should be some time sanctified and set apart for the service of God; and "that

the circumstances of religion are in the power of the presidents of religion; and then it will follow from Scripture, that the apostles, or their successors, or whoever did appoint the Sunday festival, had not only great reason but full authority[r]."

He then proceeds to give many instances of alleged traditions of contradictory import,—of inherent absurdity, and of dates notoriously modern. He lays down, as a proper criterion in all such controversies, the well-known canon of Vincentius Lirinensis; and, by the application of this rule, arrives at the consequence that "all the doctrines of faith and good life are contained in the plain places of Scripture; and besides it there are, and there can be, no articles of faith."

The same topic he discusses in the two following chapters, to nearly the same effect, and employing nearly the same arguments as he had done in his "Liberty of Prophesying;" establishing the Apostles' Creed as the only necessary rule of belief, and exposing, with considerable energy, the monstrous power assumed by the court of Rome, of introducing into the confessions of the church new articles of faith, and altering and suppressing the Catholic doctrine. That they claim and exert such a power he proves by the writings of their own doctors;—by the alterations which they have notoriously introduced in the practice and professions of the ancient church;—by the frauds and pretended miracles to which they have recurred in order to establish such novelties; frauds which have been, in many instances, acknowledged, with shame, by their own ablest partizans; and miracles which, by the common testimony of Scripture and the ancient fathers, however pretended, ought to be of no force to establish a doctrine against Scripture and the consent of antiquity. In the sixth section he proceeds still further to make good his charge by a curious history of expurgatory indices; and, in the seventh, he charges them, that, "having done these things to propagate their new doctrines, and to suppress those which are more ancient and catholic; they are so implacably angry at all that dissent from them, that they only kill them, where they have power, but damn them all, so far as their sentence can prevail."

[r] P. 437.

This is a very impressive and interesting chapter. He shows the unchristian spirit of such a procedure by the fact that God has reserved all judgment to himself; that his mercy absolves many persons who, in his just judgment, were condemned; and that it becomes a Christian to act, therefore, on the principle generally adopted by Protestants, and to judge no man's person, far less any states of men.

"Besides these things," he proceeds, "there is a strange spring and secret principle in every man's understanding, that it is oftentimes turned about by such impulses of which no man can give any account. We all remember a most wonderful instance of it, in the disputation between the two Reynolds, John and William; the former of which being a Papist and the latter a Protestant, met and disputed with a purpose to confute and to convert each other, and so they did: for those arguments which were used prevailed fully against their adversary, and yet did not prevail with themselves. The Papist turned Protestant, and the Protestant became a Papist, and so remained to their dying day."——"But, further yet, he [the consistent Protestant] considers the natural and regular infirmities of mankind; and God considers them much more. He knows that in man there is nothing admirable but his ignorance and his weakness; his prejudices, and the infallible certainty of being deceived in many things; he sees that wicked men oftentimes know much more than very good men; and that the understanding is not of itself considerable in morality, and effects nothing in rewards and punishments: it is the will only that rules man, and can obey God. He sees, and deplores it, that many men study hard and understand little; that they dispute earnestly, and understand not one another at all; that affections creep in so certainly and mingle with their arguing, that the argument is lost, and nothing remains but the conflict of two adversaries' affections; that a man is so willing, so easy, so ready to believe what makes for his opinion; so hard to understand an argument against himself; that it is plain it is the principle within, not the argument without, that determines him. He observes also, that all the world, (a few individuals excepted), are unalterably determined to the religion of their country, of their family, of their society; that there is never any considerable change made, but what

is made by war and empire, by fear and hope. He remembers, that it is a rare thing to see a Jesuit of the Dominican opinion, or a Dominican (until of late,) of the Jesuit; but every order gives laws to the understanding of their novices, and they never change. He considers there is such ambiguity in words, by which all lawgivers express their meaning; that there is such abstruseness in mysteries of religion, that some things are so much too high for us, that we cannot understand them rightly; and yet they are so sacred and concerning, that men will think they are bound to look into them as far as they can; that it is no wonder if they quickly go too far, where no understanding, if it were fitted for it, could go far enough; but in these things it will be hard not to be deceived; since our words cannot rightly express those things; that there is such variety of human understandings, that men's faces differ not so much as their souls; and that, if there were not so much difficulty in things, yet they could not but be variously apprehended by several men: and then, considering that, in twenty opinions, it may be, not one of them is true;"—" and every man is too apt to overvalue his own opinion,—and as he loves those that think as he does, so he is ready to hate them that do not; and then, secretly, from wishing evil to him, he is apt to believe that evil will come, and that it is just it should: and, by this time the opinion is troublesome, and puts other men on their guard against it, and then, while passion reigns, and reason is modest and patient and talks not loud like a storm, victory is more regarded than truth, and men call God into the party; and his judgments are used for arguments, and the threatenings of Scripture are snatched up in haste, and men throw " arrows, fire-brands, and death," and by this time all the world is in an uproar. All this, and a thousand things more, the English Protestants considering, deny not their communion to any Christian who desires it, and believes the Apostles' Creed, and is of the religion of the four first general councils; they hope well of all that live well; they receive into their bosom all true believers of what church soever; and for them that err, they instruct them, and then leave them to their own liberty to stand or fall before their own master [a]."

[a] Pp. 508, 510.

Such were the latest opinions (for this, as I have already elsewhere observed, was the latest work,) of the author of the "Liberty of Prophesying;" and so far, I repeat, was he, when himself in possession of power and dignity, from renouncing or obscuring his own previous sentiments.

Of the remaining sections of the work, a less exact account may be sufficient.

In the ninth section he goes on to urge, that the Church of Rome "teaches as doctrines the commandments of men;" and in the tenth and eleventh, with which the first book concludes, he discusses the topic of auricular confession, at greater length, but to nearly the same purport with the language which he had held in his sermon on the Gunpowder Treason. — The second book, which is divided into seven sections, is occupied in making good, and extending the arguments employed in the first part of the Dissuasive, — on the subjects of Indulgences; Purgatory; Transubstantiation; the Half Communion; Service in an unknown Tongue; the Worship of Images; and Picturing God the Father and the Holy Trinity. — These subjects he may be almost said to have exhausted, It is certain, at least, that he has accumulated on each a vast body of various and recondite information, applied to the point in question with great acuteness and good sense, and conveyed in very easy and spirited language. On the whole, though it is no more than natural and reasonable, that essays which apply to the daily actions, and the necessary belief of all Christians, should be preferred, in the daily studies of the greater number, to those which have reference to subordinate distinctions, and lead us through the thorny mazes of controversy; yet, as specimens of talent and acquirement, the two Dissuasives are, I conceive, not inferior to any of his most popular productions; and it is even possible, that they will be read by many with less weariness, and a more sustained, though a different kind of pleasure, than the unmingled and almost interminable wilderness of sweets, which characterizes his earlier and less argumentative writings.

Nor are they only those immediately interested in the disputes between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics, who may find themselves amused and instructed by the manner in which Taylor discusses them, and derive abundant informa-

tion, and rational entertainment, from the two parts of the Dissuasive. Whoever takes a pleasure in the history of Christianity, and of the human mind; in tracing the progress from small beginnings, of the most extensive and portentous changes; in estimating the amount of those corruptions which, in the lapse of ages, and from various causes, have been introduced into doctrines and practices the most simple and sacred; and in observing, nevertheless, even amid the greatest spread of those corruptions, how strangely the providence of God has raised up eminent persons to bear witness against them; — will find the time very profitably and agreeably employed, which he bestows on Taylor's controversial writings.

There is a trifling error in the beginning of his introduction to the second part, which would, in another person, have been hardly worth notice; but which I should not have expected to meet with in one, who, like Taylor, had paid a more than common attention to the works of the Rabbins.

"When our blessed Saviour," he tells us, "was casting out the evil spirit from the poor demoniac in the Gospel, he asked his name, and he answered, 'My name is Legion, for we are many.' — Legion is a Roman word, and signifies an army, as Roman signifies Catholic[t]," &c. It is singular that he had overlooked the fact, that "legion" among the Jews, was the name usually given to the individual who commanded a large body of soldiers, and answered, in fact, to "general," or "colonel." It was therefore properly assumed by the single spirit who spoke in the name of the rest, and exercised authority over them; whereas, had it been used as a noun of multitude, it would have been, not "my name," but "ours." — The observation is of some use, in clearing up an expression of Scripture; but Taylor's witticism will, in consequence, fall to the ground[u].

In his Great Exemplar, while commenting on the second commandment, he had said, "God forbade to the Jews the very having and making images and representments, not only of the true God, or of false and imaginary deities, but

[t] Vol. x. p. 265.

[u] See Buxtorf., Lex. Talmud., p. 1123, ad voc. לגיון, and Schleusner, ad voc. Λεγιων. 2.

of visible creatures[x]." In the second part of the Dissuasive, he says, on the contrary, — "Neither the second commandment, nor the ancient fathers in their commentaries on them, did absolutely prohibit all making of images; but all that was made for religious worship, and in order to adoration, according as it is expressed in him, who, among the Jews, collected the negative precepts which Arias Montanus translated into Latin; the second of which is, 'signum cultûs causa ne facito;' the third, 'simulachrum divinum nullo pacto conflato;' the fourth, 'signa religiosa nulla ex materia facito[y].'"

Of the two opinions, it is hardly necessary to observe, that the latter is shown, by the brazen serpent of Moses, and by the cherubim, oxen, and lions of Solomon, to be the ancient and true explication of the second commandment.

The letters to persons seduced or tempted to the Church of Rome, are not ill adapted to their object, but offer nothing which calls for particular observation here. One which accompanies them, and stands second in the series, to a lady converted from the Church of Rome to that of England, is, however, highly characteristic of its author, as endeavouring to recal the attention of his pupil from polemics, to practical religion and morality, and evincing that he had been chiefly anxious to make her a Protestant, in order that she might be more pure, more holy, more eminently Christian, in proportion as her mode of faith was rational and apostolical.

The "Discourse of Confirmation," is preceded by a dedication to the duke of Ormond, in which the author, after some lamentations over the dilapidated and divided state of the Irish church, advances, with apparent approbation, a whimsical fancy of "some wise and good men," that, "when baptized Christians are confirmed and solemnly blessed by the bishop, then it is, that a special angel-guardian is appointed to keep their souls from the assaults of the spirits of darkness." — This solemn trifling (for, in our profound ignorance of the world of spirits, it is nothing more), is not calculated to give a very advantageous impression of the work which it introduces; and, in fact, I cannot consider it as a favourable specimen of his genius.

[x] Vol. iii. p. 14. [y] Vol. xi. p. 153.

In the introduction, however, is a passage of no common eloquence, — where, while describing the assistance of the Holy Ghost, as supplied to Christians, he compares the new to the old creation, and describes the Spirit as a second time "moving upon the face of the waters." — "By him we live, in him we walk, by his aids we pray, by his emotions we desire: we breathe, and sigh, and groan, by him: he helps in all our infirmities, and he gives us all our strengths: he reveals mysteries to us, and teaches us all our duties: he stirs us up to holy desires, and he actuates those desires: he maketh us to will and to do of his good pleasure[z]."

The work itself consists of seven sections, in which he undertakes to prove, the divine institution of the rite of confirmation; — its perpetuity; — its practice by the primitive churches; — its exclusive administration by bishops; — its essential parts, which he defines to be prayer and imposition of hands; — its blessed effects, and the preparation necessary for it.

To show that confirmation is a divinely instituted rite, and to be proved from Scripture, he alleges, first, the descent of the Holy Ghost on our Lord, not during, but *after* his baptism; and secondly, the words of Christ to Nicodemus, declaring the necessity of baptism, "by water and the Spirit."

Neither of these can, as I conceive, be esteemed conclusive. The former is no more an example for Christians, than any other of the long train of wonders and displays of supernatural power, which accompanied and established his divine mission, can be said to be examples to us. — If it proved any thing with respect to the manner of initiating new members into his mystical body, it would rather prove that the grace of the Holy Ghost was, without any further outward ceremony, to be a necessary consequence of baptism; and this, in fact, is all which those expressions of the fathers can be fairly said to imply, which Taylor quotes as agreeing in his application of the miracle.

The second is, at first sight, more plausible, since our Saviour is, throughout his discourse with Nicodemus, impressing on the mind of the Jewish elder, the necessity of

[z] Vol. xi. p. 229.

an entrance into his religion, by the public and usual rites of initiation. But the fact that confirmation was really one of those rites, will yet remain to be proved; and, as regeneration by the Holy Ghost is on all hands allowed to be the consequences of baptism, by itself, and even where no confirmation is superadded,—the expression is more naturally understood, and has been, in fact, so understood by the greater part of orthodox commentators, as merely declaratory of the spiritual benefits which were to follow the external rite of water.

There is, indeed, a dangerous consequence attendant on both Taylor's arguments, that, by limiting the gift of the Holy Ghost to confirmation, he makes baptism, taken by itself, of none effect, or, at most, of no further effect, than as a decent and necessary introduction to that which would be, on this hypothesis, the main and distinctive consignation of a Christian. To this objection Taylor himself was not insensible; and he endeavours to escape from it, by a still more dangerous admission, that confirmation is, really, as generally necessary as baptism or the Lord's Supper, which is, in fact, to contradict the express doctrine of our church, and formally to elevate it to the rank of a sacrament[a]. How little he is borne out in such doctrines by the figurative expressions of the fathers, *when speaking of baptismal regeneration*, will appear from a reference even to those passages on which he relies. And how unnecessary such a novel hypothesis is to the obligation and importance of the ceremony in question, may appear from the far better arguments which he afterwards produces in its favour; from the known practice of the apostles, in the case of the Samaritan converts; and from the fact, that imposition of hands is classed by St. Paul among the fundamental doctrines of Christianity[b].

That confirmation was not a temporary rite, or to lose its inward and ordinary blessing when the visible and miraculous gifts were withdrawn, which, in the first ages of the church, attended it, he proves from the analogy of other external rites, which had equally, in the first ages, extraordinary effects and miraculous consignations, but which, as in the

[a] Vol. xi. pp. 244, 245. [b] Hebrews, vi. 1, 2.

case of preaching, prayer, &c., are allowed by all parties to be still necessary, though such obvious and wonderful fruits are no longer to be anticipated from them.

The ordinary and internal graces of the Spirit are promised, as he observes, to all ages of the church; and though our consignation is by a secret power, and the work is within, — "it does not therefore follow, that the external rite is not also intended," wherever that consignation is spoken of in Scripture.

"For the rite is so wholly for the mystery, and the outward for the inward, and yet, by the outward, God so usually and regularly gives the inward, that as no man is to rely upon the external ministry, as if the 'opus operatum' would do the whole duty; so no man is to neglect the external, because the internal is the more principal. The mistake in this particular hath caused great contempt of the sacraments and rituals of the church, and is the ground of the Socinian errors in these questions[c]."

That it was the uniform custom of the primitive church, and every where (except, perhaps, in Egypt, where he does not satisfactorily get rid of a strong testimony of St. Ambrose,) confined to the ministration of the bishop alone; that the essential parts of the rite are prayer, and imposition of hands, — and that the use of oil, though very ancient, is of ecclesiastical institution only, he proves with sufficient clearness in the three following sections. In the sixth, he ably, though in a simple and unambitious style, states the spiritual benefits of which confirmation is the outward and appointed means, — and, in the last, discusses the proper age and preparation for the ceremony.

In speaking of the proper age of candidates, he holds an opinion at variance with the usual practice of the Church of England, which is seldom to admit them to the solemn rite, till they are fourteen or fifteen years of age. He, on the contrary, recommends receiving them much earlier, — "the sooner the better, I mean, after that reason begins to dawn;" provided only that "the children be catechized, and well instructed in the fundamentals of religion."

He proceeds, with an earnest recommendation of the

[c] Page 254.

ancient custom of catechizing, in which he observes, by the way, that what is called *exorcism*, in the ancient church, was not, as is vulgarly supposed, an attempt to eject the devil out of innocent children, but that the exorcist was only another word for *catechist;* — and he then winds up his argument with a short and energetic peroration, on the blessings derived from, and the obligations attached to, an attendance on the rite which he has thus vindicated.

On the whole, the learning and piety of this little tract are not unworthy of Taylor, and he deserves, at least, the praise of having made out his point satisfactorily. But, except this learning and this piety, there is, perhaps, scarcely any thing else in the Essay on Confirmation, which would mark it as his writing. He has not, indeed, slept over his task; but it cannot be said that he has drawn his bow to the full extent of his usual force and vigour. And we shall be, perhaps, the more struck with this inferiority, if we compare it with the little Essay on Friendship, which follows next in the present series, and which may be considered, without impropriety, as the earliest of his casuistic writings.

Of the lady to whom it is addressed I have already spoken; and she, certainly, deserves some credit for having suggested such a theme to Taylor, inasmuch as it was calculated, more than most others, to elicit the fires of his peculiar eloquence. It was a topic, also, on which his good sense and practical wisdom (of which qualities few men of equal genius have had a larger share), were likely to furnish very valuable rules, for the maintenance of affection in its just temper; for the increase and preservation of our interest in the breast of the beloved individual; and for the subjection and devotion of even our best and strongest feelings, to that common Father, from whom all pure affection flows. — Accordingly, he has produced a splendid and powerful essay, which, though the fair and enthusiastic Orinda should seem to have preferred the forgotten one of Mr. Francis Finch, will not appear, to the generality of readers, to derogate from the high character of his greater and more laboured performances.

He begins, however, with a paradox, of which I am not sure that it does not rest on a quibble. He tells his correspondent, that friendship, in the sense under which we

commonly use the term, — " is not so much as named in the New Testament;" and he accounts for this, by saying, that " the greatest love, and the greatest usefulness, and the most open communication, and the noblest sufferings, and the most exemplar faithfulness, and the severest truth, and the heartiest counsel, and the greatest union of mind, of which brave men and women are capable," are, under the Christian term of charity, potentially due from us to all mankind, and directly, therefore, opposed to that affection, which is " like the sun peeping through a chink," or " his beams drawn into the centre of a burning glass."

That charity, in this sense, is not friendship, is most true, since it is the general principle of affection, of which friendship is an application to particular instances, in compliance with that imperfection of our nature, and those circumstances of society, which limit our active affections, and our confidential intercourse (like our alms, and our personal intercessions), to those with whom we are brought in contact, and who only are, therefore, susceptible of our service or our tenderness.

But this limitation, and particular application of the common principle, he himself allows to be natural and necessary; and he admits, that the good and glorious Person, who, in his human nature, has given us the most perfect example of the best application and employment of all our natural affections, has left us instances, in his own conduct, of that condensed and distinctive love, which he felt, for one of the apostles, in a greater degree, than for the remaining eleven, and for the family of Lazarus, more than for the great mass of those who believed on him.

This, which the Christian Scriptures call *charity*, as being a particular application of the general grace, he admits, in philosophy, is called "*friendship*." But if the thing be named, though under a different term, in the New Testament, his assertion, that it does not occur, must resolve itself into a quibble only. And, in fact, though we have translated ἀγαπαω, and ἀγαπη, perhaps, too indiscriminately, by the common and genuine term of " love," and the almost technical term of " charity," — it would be easy to show, not only that the corresponding word in Hebrew is applied to the " friendship" of David and Jonathan, but that ἀγαπαω

is used in the New Testament, as strictly synonymous with the proper Greek term of friendship, φιλεω, and that it is applied, both there, and in the classical writers, to express not only "love" in its exalted sense, but a much slighter degree of "liking," or "approbation[d]."

His doctrine, however, that friendship is the application to a particular person, of the love which, but for the weakness of our nature, we should feel for all, is strictly philosophical, as well as Christian; and there are few passages in his works more characteristic, more appropriate, or more beautiful, than the following illustration of the general principle.

"Thus, the sun is the eye of the world, and he is indifferent [impartial] to the negro, or the cold Russian; to them that dwell under the line, [qu. *Pole?*] and them that stand near the tropics; the scalded Indian, or the poor boy that shakes at the foot of the Riphean hills. But the flexures of the heaven and the earth, the conveniency of abode, and the approaches to the north and south respectively, change the emanations of his beams; not that they do not pass always from him, but that they are not equally received below; but by periods and changes, by little inlets and reflections, they receive what they can. And some have only a dark day and a long night from him; snows and white cattle; a miserable life, and a perpetual harvest of catarrhs and consumptions; apoplexies and dead palsies. But some have splendid fires, and aromatic spices, rich wines, and well digested fruits, great wit, and great courage; because they dwell in his eye, and look in his face, and are the courtiers of the sun, and wait upon him in his chambers of the east. Just so it is in friendships: some are worthy, and some are necessary; some dwell hard by, and are fitted for converse; nature joins some to us, and religion combines us with others; society and accidents, parity of fortune, and equal dispositions, do actuate our friendships; which, of themselves, and in their prime disposition, are prepared for all mankind, according as any one can receive them[e]."

Having thus defined and explained the nature of friendship, — he goes on to observe, that "there may be a special friendship contracted for any special excellency whatsoever;

[d] 1 Sam. xx. 17. Schleusner, ad voc. Αγαπαω. [e] Vol. xi. p. 304.

because friendships are nothing but love and society mixed together, that is, a conversing with them whom we love; now, for whatsoever we can love any one, for that we can be his friend; and, since every excellency is a degree of amability, every such worthiness is a just and proper motive of friendship or loving conversation."

But all excellencies can only so far become the objects of friendship as they are or may be *advantageous to ourselves*. Even virtue itself, in the abstract, or as displayed towards God and mankind in general, though it be the best motive for esteem and honour, is not enough, he observes, "to make a man my *privado*, my special and particular friend;" but, if he be a *good man*—χρηστος ἀνηρ—a *kind* and *useful* and *amiable* person, he is then such an one, as "some will even dare to die for."

"If you suspect that this discourse can suppose friendship to be mercenary, and to be defective in the greatest worthiness of it, which is to love our friend for our friend's sake, I shall easily be able to defend myself; because I speak of the election and reasons of choosing friends. After he is chosen, do as nobly as you talk, and love as purely as you dream; and let your conversation be as metaphysical as your discourse, and proceed in this method till you be confuted by experience; yet, till then, the case is otherwise when we speak of choosing one to be my friend. He is not my friend till I have chosen him or loved him; and, if any man inquires whom he shall choose, or whom he should love, I suppose it ought not to be answered, that we should love him who hath least amability; that we should choose him who hath least reason to be chosen. But, if it be answered, he is to be chosen to be my friend who is most worthy in himself, not he that can do most good to me, I say there is a distinction, but no difference; for he is most worthy in himself who can do most good; and, if he can love me too, that is, if he will do me all the good he can, or that I need, then he is my friend, and he deserves it."—"True and brave friendships are between worthy persons; and there is in mankind no degree of worthiness that is not also a degree of usefulness, and by every thing by which a man is excellent I may be profited: and because those are the bravest friends which can best serve the ends of friendships, either

we must suppose that friendships are not the greatest comforts in the world; or else we must say, he chooses his friend best, that chooses such a one by whom he can receive the greatest comforts and assistances[f]."

Still this obligation to choose our friends for their aptness to give us the greatest help, comfort, or pleasure, does not lay on us the necessity of choosing always the *best*. You must not, he observes, choose a friend who is deficient in the essentials of friendship, who is not "honest and secret, just and true to a tittle; but if he be wise at all, and useful in any degree, and as good as you can have him, you need not be ashamed to own your friendships, though sometimes you may be ashamed of the imperfections of your friend."

Even "fancy and little partialities; a conformity of humours and proportionable loves, and the beauty of the face, and a witty answer," he admits of as circumstances which may, in the first instance, produce a liking; though he urges, with reason, that this platonic and fanciful regard will never be maintained at the rate of a real friendship, "unless it be fed by pure materials, by worthinesses which are the food of friendship." — "I will," he concludes, "when I choose my friend, choose him that is the bravest, the worthiest, and most excellent person; and then your first question is soon answered. To love such a person, and to contract such friendships, is just so authorized by the principles of Christianity as it is warranted to love wisdom and virtue, goodness and beneficence, and all the impresses of God upon the spirits of brave men."

Under the next head, that of the limits of friendship, he assigns no boundary to the affection and service which friend may show to friend, but the borders of vice and virtue, — a man may die for his friend, if that friend be a worthy and useful person; he may sacrifice his property for his friend, if he does not transgress against the duty which he owes to his natural relations; but he must not, like Pollux, kill the person who speaks slightingly of his friend, nor must he transgress the laws of God or man to serve him.

In the same section are some very sensible observations

[f] Pp. 310—312.

as to the difference between friendship and filial or fraternal love; on the circumstances which may render a friend more intimate than either a parent or a brother; though no friend, he forcibly urges, can prudently or lawfully take precedence of a wife or a husband.

"The reason is, because marriage is the queen of friendships, in which there is a communication of all that can be communicated by friendship; and it being made sacred by vows and love, by bodies and souls, by interest and custom, by religion and by laws, by common counsels and common fortunes; it is the principal in the kind of friendship, and the measure of all the rest. And there is no abatement to this consideration, but that there may be some allay in this as in other lesser friendships, by the incapacity of the persons. If I have not chosen my friend wisely or fortunately, he cannot be the correlative in the best union; but then the friend lives as the soul does after death: it is in the state of separation, in which the soul strangely loves the body and longs to be reunited, but the body is an useless trunk, and can do no ministries to the soul, which therefore prays to have the body reformed and restored, and made a brave and fit companion: so must these best friends, when one is useless or unapt to the braveries of the princely friendship; they must love ever, and pray ever, and long till the other be perfected and made fit: in this case there wants only the body, but the soul is still a relative, and must be so for ever."

In the next inquiry,—"How friendships are to be conducted?"— he has given some very wise and useful, though moderate and indulgent advice, for the case of an intimacy between persons of different sexes; where "not only the interest of their religion, and the care of their honour, but the worthiness of their friendship, require that their intercourse be prudent and free from suspicion or reproach." Yet even here he does not enjoin an implicit deference to "the noises of people:" and he subjoins a spirited and affectionate eulogium of the female character, and its fitness for all the noblest duties of friendship.

He concludes his essay with some short rules of duty and prudence to be observed by one friend towards another, of which the practical wisdom is not inferior to the sim-

plicity; but for which it is necessary to refer my readers to the work itself, if they read the whole of which they will find the short labour well repaid[s].

That which follows next is of far greater bulk and labour. The necessity of such works as the "Ductor Dubitantium" had, very plainly, its origin in those times, and among those sects of Christians with whom auricular confession and priestly absolution were regarded as the duty of every penitent; the preliminary of all celestial mercy. — When a body of many thousand persons, of various ages and all degrees of acquirement or capacity, were liable to become the depositaries of the most important or the most trifling secrets, and called on to pronounce authoritatively on the spiritual condition of all ranks and under all possible circumstances, it was absolutely necessary that the more skilful of these confidential monitors should lay down rules for the less learned; and that all precedents should be collected and preserved, which might lighten the labour, or guide the judgment, or diminish the responsibility, of the busy, the uninformed, the timid, or the diffident ministers of religion.

And this necessity became the greater in proportion as the abuses of the Romish superstition were multiplied. While the rules of faith were drawn from the apostles' creed, and the rules of conduct from the ten commandments; while the terms of church communion were easy and perspicuous, and the church had laid no further burthen on her members than those few and simple customs and ceremonies which derived their sanction from the apostles and from Christ; there was the less occasion to wander from so wide a road, and, from one so plain, whoever wandered was more easily detected and censured.

But, when the commandments or inventions of men were taught under the same sanction with the doctrines of inspiration; when prohibitions of things lawful or indifferent were multiplied without warrant or necessity; and states of life and society in themselves unnatural were grafted on a creed which was at first the perfection of natural religion; the feelings of men revolted against rules thus arbitrarily

[s] Note ZZ.

imposed; while their consciences were not sufficiently enlightened to make them satisfied that their revolt was innocent. The multitude of cases was thus greatly increased, which sought, at the hands of the confessor, for ghostly counsel and comfort; and so inevitably does the commission of one supposed fault lead to others, that the habitual transgression of the commandment of the church seldom failed to carry men further into a neglect of the divine commandments also; till offences against general morality became more numerous, in proportion as the breach of ecclesiastical laws became more inevitable.

It had been thus, in more ancient times, with the Jewish doctors, whose "hedge" of traditions and ceremonies[h] had only served to encroach on and block up the path of duty, and whose volumes of casuistry are sufficiently bulky, though they had not, among their institutions, so fruitful a mother of quibbles as the practice of confession.

Among Christians of the Romish church, it may be easily understood how the indulgence of some spiritual guides;—the ostentatious ingenuity of others;—the desire, in a third party, of conciliating wealthy and powerful sinners;—and, in a fourth, the refinements of an impure curiosity, excited and employed by a great majority of the cases which came before them,—would produce a plentiful harvest of distinctions, provisions, abatements and aggravations, sufficient, when duly stated, to distort to almost any extent, the features of almost any action or course of actions.

What mischief had, in this respect, been done by the Jesuit confessors and casuists, may be seen in several parts of Taylor's Dissuasive from Popery, and still more in the spirited invective of Pascal. But the matter grew still worse, when cases of conscience were brought into courts of law; when the institutions of penance and ecclesiastical censure, as managed in the Church of Rome, and as commuted for by pecuniary fines, became the subjects of legal argument, and of that perverse ingenuity which a counsel is generally expected to exert on behalf of his client.

In civil courts, indeed, that ingenuity can produce but little harm; since it is avowedly exercised on the laws of

[h] "Ponere sepem legi."

man alone, and since the eternal sanctions of morality remain entire and unbroken, whatever temporal consequences are incurred or averted by the parties. But the misfortune was, that the spiritual tribunal professed to exert an influence beyond the present world; and when an equal danger of purgatory was incurred by a breach of a canon as of a commandment, and when the consequences of both the one and the other might be got rid of by a flaw in the indictment; it is less strange that offences were multiplied, than it is that they were so far repressed by the general good feelings of mankind, and that efficacy which yet remained in the obscured and neglected Gospels. But as offences multiplied, distinctions multiplied also; and we cannot wonder, therefore, that the very title of the canon law was "Concordantia Discordantiarum;" that "the easy commandment was wrapped up in uneasy learning; and, by the new methods, a simple and uncrafty man could hardly be wise unto salvation." "There is a wood before your doors, and a labyrinth within the wood, and locks and bars to every door in that labyrinth; and, after all, we are like to meet with unskilful guides; and yet, of all things in the world, in these things an error is the most intolerable[1]."

But, while such had been the original occasion, and such the gradual but appalling progress of casuistry in the Church of Rome; it was not very apparent why the reformed churches, who had shaken off the accumulated load of ages, were again, without the same occasion, to begin to rebuild the fabric. Why, when their rule was brought back to its primitive simplicity, and the Scriptures which contained that rule were made accessible to all; when they had restricted the lash of ecclesiastical censure to a very few, and those very palpable and notorious cases of public scandal; and when, by leaving confession optional, they had cut off the necessity which made every parish minister a casuist,—why were they to darken what was so plain by needless explanation, or encourage a nearer approach to forbidden things by an attempt to define the precise limits of the prohibition?

That first thoughts are generally best, in cases of duty, has been observed by Taylor as well as by Paley. I have

[1] Vol. xi. pp. 353, 354.

myself had sufficient experience of what are generally called scruples, to be convinced that the greater proportion of those which are submitted to a spiritual guide, are nothing more than artifices by which men seek to justify themselves in what they know to be wrong: and I am convinced that the most efficacious manner of easing a doubtful conscience is, for the most part, to recal the professed penitent from distinctions to generals; from the peculiarities of his private concerns to the simple words of the commandment. If we are too curious, we only muddy the stream; but the clearest truth is, in morals, always on the surface.

Still there were yet remaining, in the two first centuries after the Reformation, circumstances, (besides the precedent of the Roman church, and the secret regret of the influence formerly enjoyed by their order, which, however unsuspected by themselves, was likely to actuate the more learned of the Protestant clergy,) which might well impress on the mind of Taylor and of many of his contemporaries, the opinion that a work of casuistry was a desideratum in the Church of England, and its want a defect which might be with reason objected to that church by its adversaries.

There were, probably, more genuine and conscientious scruples at that time busy in the public mind than are likely to occur at present. The religious ferment, and the spirit of inquiry which it excited, which accompanied the reformation of religion, had been kept up by the Puritans, and after them by the Independents, with unfailing force and activity: and though the Reformation in England had been conducted on wiser and more moderate principles, and had, in fact, overlooked all trifles in order to make the better clearance of essential abuses; yet had the minds of men been drawn, by the weakness of some, and the mischievous arts of others, to trifles and external circumstances, in a degree of which our present religious divisions afford us no conception.

There are few even of the dissenting divines who now preach against, there are fewer still who really care for, the peculiarities of the established church in its habits and ceremonies. Its liturgy is praised almost by all. Yet not avowed dissenters only, but no small party of those who had been episcopally ordained, and appointed to offices within the limits of the establishment, were, in the days of Charles

the First, conscientiously miserable at the thought of standing in a surplice, or saying any prayer but of their own composing. Many thousand good and pious men, and probably a still greater number of women, were distressed between the fear of schism, and the crime of attending in a place of worship where even the minutest particular was not warranted by some explicit text of Scripture.

The wickedness of mince-pies and plum-porridge, and the question how far these abominations might be winked at, when believers were unequally yoked with a prelatist, agitated many well-meaning minds; while there were others, of a contrary faction, who looked with horror on the marriage of second cousins, and were seriously troubled if, during the forty days, any flesh-meat was seen in their houses.

The law of Moses; the question how far it was repealed or how far it still subsisted in the particulars of blood, perhaps of pork, and certainly of a sabbatical rest on the Lord's day, was also a frequent cause of secret distress or domestic litigation; while on the other hand, individuals were not wanting who, despising all ordinances, exclaimed against their kindred and neighbours as legalists and foolish Galatians.

It is possible that, in the present age of sects, some of these wild tenets may still be active and mischievous; but the greater part of our divisions arise from other causes, and, above all, the habits of the time lead men rather to decide their scruples for themselves and in their own way, than to recur to their spiritual pastors.

But to how great an extent such feelings then prevailed, may be learned from the fact that, during the time that the celebrated Dr. Owen was dean of Christchurch, a regular office for the satisfaction of doubtful consciences was held in Oxford. How long it continued, or what were the numbers that resorted to it, I am not informed. It possibly was of the shorter duration from the ludicrous name of "scruple-shop," which was given it by the younger students.

Nor was it a slight aggravation of the mischief that the emissaries of the Church of Rome were, in the meantime, always active; ready to remind every uneasy conscience of the rest and relief to be found within the pale of their communion; vaunting the acuteness and learning of their

doctors, and the comfort of their absolution; and obtaining the more abundant draughts of fishes the more the waters were troubled.

Under such circumstances, it was an expedient which would naturally occur to the clergy of the episcopal church, to meet both Puritans and Papists at their own weapons, and to supply, from a rational and legitimate source, that satisfaction to restless spirits which the others professed to furnish by a false stimulus, or a still more deceitful opiate.

Accordingly, the work now executed by Taylor had been projected by many eminent persons before him. Besides some writings of the same sort by different Lutheran divines, (who, as still retaining, before the administration of the sacrament, a shadow of the old confessional, have more reason than those of the English church for affixing a value to such assistances), the excellent Bishop Hall had made a beginning which he did not live to complete; and Sanderson, whose lectures "de conscientiâ," had shown very considerable talent in the eristical part of morality, was urged by Charles the First, in his last attendance on him, to employ the remainder of his life in writing cases of conscience[k].

It was not, however, to the detail of individual scruples that Taylor gave up his learning and genius. This, indeed, had been the usual practice of previous writers on the same subject. The Romish casuists, at least, (for the Lutherans I only know through the notices of them in Michaelis and in Taylor himself), have contented themselves, for the most part, with filling their enormous volumes with cases, sometimes classed, indeed, under general heads, but not often submitted to any general or steady principles; a wilderness of precedents, of which (as they were rather selected for curiosity than for their frequent occurrence,) hardly a twentieth part could be expected to be really useful.

Taylor, on the other hand, has introduced his cases as illustrations and examples only, and by far the greater part of his work is devoted to the exposition of general principles, in which, with far more learning, and perhaps, (the time at which he wrote considered), with equal originality, but with a clearness of arrangement and expression altogether much

[k] Walton's Life of Sanderson. Wordsworth, Eccles. Biog. vol. v. p. 487.

inferior, he has preceded in the same track the labours of Tucker and of Paley.

To give a regular analysis of so extensive a work, would be either to repeat the table of contents, or materially to exceed the bounds of a critical essay. I shall, therefore, content myself with offering to the reader a very slight outline of the plan, selecting only those parts for further comment, which, for their acuteness, their curiosity, their eloquence, or sometimes even their erroneous nature, appear to me to call for such a distinction.

After a preface, in which the importance and necessity of the attempt is throughout assumed, and which is chiefly directed against the sophistry and interminable length of his Romish predecessors, he has divided his work into four books, each containing several long chapters.

In the first, he defines the nature of conscience, its uses, and their impediments, pointing out the different characteristics of a "right or sure conscience,"—a conscience confident in error,—a "probable or thinking,"—a "doubtful," and a "scrupulous conscience." Of all these, his definitions, though a little overlaid with words and misplaced eloquence, are distinct and forcible, and his illustrations often very fine and appropriate.

Such a one occurs where he has been observing that, "we cannot take any direct account of the greatness or horror of a sin by the affrightment of conscience."

"For," he proceeds, "it is with the affrightments of conscience as it is in temporal judgments; sometimes they come not at all, and, when they do, they come irregularly, and, when they do not, the man does not escape."—"But as he who is not smitten of God, yet knows he is always liable to God's anger, and, if he repents not, it will certainly fall upon him hereafter; so it is in conscience. He that fears not, hath never the *less* cause to fear, but oftentimes a greater, and therefore is to suspect and alter his condition, as being of a deep and secret danger; and he that does fear, must alter his condition, as being highly troublesome. But, in both cases, conscience does the work of a monitor and a judge. In some cases, conscience is like an eloquent and fair-spoken judge, which declaims not against the criminal, but condemns him justly; in others, the judge

is more angry, and affrights the prisoner more; but the event is still the same. For, in those sins where the conscience affrights, and in those in which she affrights not, (supposing the sins equal, but of differing natures), there is no other difference, but that conscience is a clock, which in one man strikes aloud and gives warning; and in another, the hand points silently to the figures, but strikes not; but by this he may as surely see what the other hears, that his hours pass away, and death hastens, and after death comes judgment[1]!"

The rules which he gives to distinguish a true peace of conscience, which he defines to be "a rest after a severe inquiry," are full of holy and practical wisdom; as when he remarks that "peace of mind is not to be used as a sign that God hath pardoned our sins, but is only of use in questions of particular fact. — What evils have I done?—what good have I left undone?" This is a very useful caution to two different classes of men, those who afflict themselves without knowing why, and those who are satisfied when they ought to be afflicted.

The rule of a right conscience, he expresses to be "the speculative determination of the understanding," and subjoins as the single necessary caution, "that we be as sure of our speculation as of any other rule which we usually follow, and that we do not take vain philosophy for true speculations." And, while establishing this assertion, he maintains at some length, and with much acuteness, the use of reason in matters of religion, answering the different objections which are ordinarily made against it, and proving that, though reason may not be able to render an account of mysteries which are but imperfectly revealed to us, yet, the authenticity of the revelation is, in the first instance, cognizable by reason; while, though things may be true which our reason cannot comprehend, yet what our reason rejects we cannot receive as revealed by God; so that "though right reason is not the positive and affirmative measure of any article, yet it is the negative measure of every one." Obedience of the understanding to God he acknowledges to be our undoubted duty; "but that," he observes, "is only when God speaks. But because we heard him not, and are

[1] Vol. xi. pp. 403, 404.

only told that God did speak,—our reason must examine whether it be fit to believe them that tell us so."

In the course of this inquiry many interesting corollaries occur, as to the question of two wills in God:—the conformity of reason and faith:—and the vanity of judicial astrology, which last he condemns not on the score of its supposed impiety and contradiction to Scripture, but as the instrument of imposture and delusion; and, therefore, against religion, not as an unlawful exercise of reason, but as mere folly and knavery, and on account of the "dangerous and horrid consequents which they feel, that run a whoring after such idols of imagination."

His examination of mixed motives, and the censure which he passes on good actions when done from secular or incompetent arguments, are useful and well-founded; though, under this last head, and while discussing the incidental question, "whether it be lawful and ingenuous to go about to persuade a man to the belief of a true proposition, by arguments with which we ourselves are not persuaded?" he has made some admissions which a severe lover of truth will hardly allow to pass without reprobation.

An "*argumentum ad hominem*" is, indeed, perfectly allowable, which proceeds on the supposition, not upon the concession and granting of an error. But this, which is no more than taking a man on his own grounds, has no natural tendency to make him believe that I agree with him in that particular. The argument is good, because the premises are conventionally so; and the effect is not so much to convince a man of the truth of our inference, as to unsettle his prejudices against that inference, and, by proving his own principles to be inconsistent, to make him the more ready to submit himself to ours.

But the case is very different, when I use arguments which I know or believe to be bad, because "there may be something in my opponent that can make the argument to become perfect and effectual." This is like feeding a hungry man with chaff, because there may be some peculiarity in his digestion, which can extract its nutritive qualities.

If other competent judges have laid stress on such an argument, we may, indeed, advance it as theirs, and in deference to their authority. But, even here, it can hardly

be allowed us to advance it without premising the caution that it is not our own opinion which we express, and that we therefore can lay no stress on it. And, as arguments thus brought forwards are likely to be of little service to our cause, it is, apparently, both wiser and better to confine ourselves to such arguments only as are really satisfactory to our understanding [m].

This, however, will, of course, not conclude against our stating as possible, or probable, such consequences as, though they do not certainly follow from the premises, may yet, without contradiction, do so. But the *premises* are, by their very nature and employment, presumed to be truths; nor can we honestly use any thing as a premise, which we do not either believe to be true, or, at least, state hypothetically.

He speaks more justly, when he will not allow of any distinction between a man's public conscience as a magistrate, and his private conscience as an individual [n]; and where he observes that "conscience hath power in obligations and rules, but not so much nor so often in permissions [o]." Thus, a person may in no case do that which conscience forbids, but may not always go so far as she allows.

Under the head of "a probable or thinking conscience," he teaches, with great justice, that "a conscience that is, at first and in its own nature, probable, may be made certain by accumulation of many probabilities operating the same persuasion [p]." And of this kind of "moral demonstration," he gives an instance in a magnificent sketch of the different probabilities on which a faith in Christianity is founded. Few of his most splendid passages in the most popular of his writings exceed some parts of this argument: as, when he speaks of the doctrine of Christ, "hunting the demons from their tripods,—their "*navels* [q]," their dens, their hollow pipes, their temples, and their altars;" as "flourishing, like the palm, by pressure; growing glorious by opposition; thriving by persecution, and demonstrated by objections [r];" or where, contrasting it with the local rites and restricted

[m] Vol. xi. p. 483, 485, 488.
[n] P. 499.
[o] P. 522.
[p] Vol. xii. p. 33.
[q] Delphi, called γης ὀμφαλος.
[r] P. 56.

worship of the Jews, he says of the Christian religion, that it is " as eternal as the soul of a man, and can no more cease than our spirits can die, and can worship upon mountains and in caves, in fields and churches, in peace and war, in solitude and society, in persecution and in sunshine, by day and by night, and be solemnized by clergy and laity in the essential parts of it, and is the perfection of the soul, and the highest reason of man, and the glorification of God [s]."

There are many other valuable principles laid down in this part of his work, of which a few are all that I can instance. Such are his positions, that " Reason weighs more than authority;" that " a multitude of authorities, when they are deducible from one or a few, add nothing to the strength of that on which they themselves rest: that authority alone is no sufficient proof after a new doubt has been started; and, that an apparent interest in the person who maintains a proposition is no more reason for disbelieving than for believing it [t]."

Some of his illustrations of a doubtful conscience, are not over delicate, or even decent, and some of his positions dangerous. Of the first description, is a very injudicious quotation from Toletus; and of the second, his admission that private evil may be done by public men and for the public necessity; which, though with many limitations, and in very few instances, as in that of war, the employment of spies, &c. it may possibly be true, yet is hardly to be allowed in any instance without peril. It is, however, a very just and reasonable observation, which he makes in the same chapter, that " positive and temporary" ought to give way to higher duties. Such, also, is his distinction between a doubting and a scrupulous conscience, that " against the first a man may not work, but against the second he may." All his advice, indeed, to scrupulous persons, is excellent [u].

His second book begins with an examination of the law of nature, which he defines to be " the universal law of mankind, concerning common necessities, to which we are inclined by nature, incited by consent, prompted by rea-

[s] Vol. xii. p. 64. [t] Pp. 91, 99, 108. [u] Pp. 183, et seq.

son, but [which] is bound upon us only by the command of God."

Its two sanctions he defines to be fear and love: the first, of a bad conscience, a bad name, or the other penal consequences which Providence and society inflict on guilt; the next is not so much born with us, as implanted in us by education, and by the hopes of future reward which God has, in revelation, held out to us.

To the law of nature thus defined, he assigns an authority superior to all positive institutions, though its laws, (as he observes,) may be capable of interpretation, and may be allayed by equity, piety, and necessity.

In speaking of contracts, he allows that an unlawful or impossible contract cannot hold; but he materially limits the permission given by the lawyers to annul contracts made under false impressions [x]. When a contract is made against the positive institutions of man, in points where the law of God is silent; though the parties may have sinned in entering into it, yet "the after actions, being no sins, cannot be invalidated;" and even "if the contract be made against a divine law," if it can be fulfilled on our part without sin, and "the contract be extrinsical to the nature of the sin incurred," the contract is binding, though its occasion is to be repented of [y].

In this last case, he agrees with Paley, (Moral Philosophy, b. xi. c. 5,) and has, to all appearance, taken a clearer view of the moral obligation of contracts than Sanderson did on a similar question. It is probable that Sanderson judged differently, from the same sense of the inexpediency of such contracts becoming general, which has induced Paley, inconsistently enough, to reject his own principle, (where it ought, à fortiori, to hold good, and does hold good, according to Taylor,) in the case of a promise made to a robber [z].

To the law of nature, in general, the Christian law succeeds, which he describes as "The law of Nature, or of all mankind, as it is commanded, digested, and perfected by our Supreme Lawgiver Jesus Christ [a]."

This, as the great rule of conscience, he distinguishes

[x] Vol. xii. pp. 256, 257.
[y] P. 260.
[z] Vol. xiv. p. 396.
[a] Vol. xiii. p. 280.

from the Mosaic law, which has entirely ceased to bind, any further than as it contains some particulars which belong to the moral law, or law of nature. From the list of those particulars he does not exclude the prohibition of eating blood, which he interprets, with good reason, not to mean the use of black puddings, but the hateful practice, common in the east and among barbarous nations, of devouring the members of a living creature [b]. But the judicial law he excludes in all its branches, more particularly in that which was then the subject of frequent discussion, the intermarriage of persons within the degrees of consanguinity. On this head, he exposes the unwarranted additions to the Mosaic prohibition which had been made, in the case of cousins, brothers' widows, &c., by the Romish canonists; and, on the whole, appears to take nearly the same view of the question as has been since taken by Michaelis: though he does not state, so plainly as Michaelis has done, the reasons which have, in all ages and countries, made some prohibitions necessary; and the local and temporary inconveniences which have obliged human lawgivers to extend, in some instances, those prohibitions still further [c].

The Decalogue he refuses to consider as a perfect digest of the law of nature; inasmuch as our duty extends to many particulars which are not expressed on those tables. "It was intended," he conceives, "as a digest of all those moral laws in which God would expect and exact the obedience of the Jewish nation, leaving the perfection and consummation of all unto the time of the Gospel [d]."

Here, I conceive, he goes too far; inasmuch as, though he insists on the violence which is necessary to reduce all the different parts of a Christian's duty to these ten principal heads, it is certain that this has been, and is done with sufficient exactness for any practical purpose, and that he himself, in his exposition of the ten commandments, has ably and eloquently accomplished it. Nor is it true, as his hypothesis seems to suppose, that no other and more express

[b] Vol. xiii. p. 290, et seq.

[c] Michaelis, Law of Moses, c. vii. Vol. iii. p. 39, et seq. Smith's Translation. Note (AAA.)

[d] Vol. xiii. p. 355.

moral laws were given to the Jews than these commandments. To give alms to the poor; to help their enemy whose beast had fallen under his load; to pray for the peace of the land whither they were led captive; to eat no living animal, which, as he himself allows, is part of the moral law: — all these laws are not only implied in the Decalogue, but explicitly laid down in different parts of the Mosaic volume; and it would be very difficult to instance any particular of natural law, strictly so called, to which the Jews were not obliged as well as ourselves, though the stream of the commandments had been disturbed and defiled by their rabbins, and though the Son of God, in his sermon on the mount, and by the still stronger lesson of his example, has vindicated them from corruption, and held them up a second time, and more clearly and gloriously than before, to our obedience and imitation.

Taylor is correct, however, in his inferences: "That we acknowledge Christ to be our Lord and Master, our Lawgiver and Teacher; that we understand the ten commandments according to his commentary."—"That we expect not justification by our conformity to the decalogue."—"That we endeavour to go on to perfection, not according to the pattern which Moses, but which Christ showed on the mount;" and "that we do not think it sufficient to live according to nature, but that we live according to grace, that is, the measures of reformed nature[e]." And he himself has, in fact, abandoned whatever was dangerous in his position simply taken, when he admits that all the precepts of morality "were potentially in the great commandment;" and that "there are the same general lines of religion, and of justice, in the Old Testament and the New, though the special and particular precepts are severally instanced by Christ and Moses."

He argues also more justly, when he says, that "every thing in the Decalogue is not obligatory on Christians," though he is unfortunate in the first instance which he produces, "that the having or making of images, though it be forbidden to the Jews in the second commandment, yet it is not unlawful to Christians[f]." Of this I have said enough

[e] Vol. xiii. p. 355. [f] P. 369.

already ; and will here only observe, that it is strange that any man should hold such an interpretation of the commandment in question, who, at the same time, in order to prove it not obligatory on Christians, has instanced the golden lions of Solomon. Solomon, surely, was a Jew: he was also a very conspicuous person, and one whose faults are related in Scripture with due severity. If, then, he used such ornaments unblamed, it is plain, from this instance, as well as from Cæsar's image on the Jewish coin [g], that the second commandment was interpreted by them, as by the generality of Protestants, to forbid idolatry only.

His observations on idolatry, however, and on the grievous presumption of picturing God, are excellent and, I think, unanswerable. His opinion of the Sabbath and the Lord's day I have already had occasion to mention.

In the third chapter of the second book, which treats of the " interpretation and obligation of the laws of Christ," though there is much which is curious and valuable, there are few things which call for particular notice. Much of it, indeed, is more historical and controversial than casuistical, and refers to the great disputes which have always agitated the Christian commonwealth since the period of the reformation. On these Taylor thought with all Protestants; and an abundant store of weapons may be drawn from his armoury, for the future battles of the church. The maxims which strike me as most generally applicable, and, at the same time, most characteristic of their author, are, 1. that " all acts of virtue are to be preferred before the instruments of it, and that which exercises it before that which signifies it [h]." 2. The difference between positive and negative laws, that, namely, when any thing is commanded, the means of doing it are left to our choice; but, when any thing is forbidden, " all those things also, by which we come to that sin, are understood to be forbidden by the same law [i]."

" Every temptation," he observes, " is then certainly

[g] " The opinion, that the Jews admitted in no case the introduction of images, is ungrounded." Michaelis, Introd. to N. Test. Marsh, vol. i. p. 57.

[h] P. 498. [i] Vol. xiii. p. 6.

to be reckoned as a sin, when it is procured by our own act, whether the temptation ministers to the sin directly or accidentally;"—" and although the usual effect does not follow the instrument. For there is sometimes a fantastic pleasure in the remembrance of sin, in the approaches of it, of our addresses to it; and there are some men who dare not act the foul crime, who yet love to look on its fair face; and they drive out sin as Abraham did Ishmael, with an unwilling willingness, (God knows:")—" and they look after it, and are pleased with the stories of it, and love to see the place of its acting."—" Now, they that go but thus far, and love to tempt themselves by walking on the side of the river,"—" they have given demonstration of their love of sin when they make so much of its proxy."

" But there are others, who have great experience of the vanity of all sin, and the emptiness and dissatisfaction that is in its fruition; and know [that] as soon as ever they have enjoyed it, it is gone, and that there is more pleasure in the expectation than in the possession; and therefore they had rather go towards it than arrive thither, and love the temptation better than the sin. These men sin with an excellent philosophy and wittiness of sinning; they love to woo always, and not to enjoy, ever to be hungry and sitting down to dinner, but are afraid to have their desires filled. But, if we consider what the secret of it is, and that there is in these men an immense love to sin, and a perfect adhesion to the pleasure of it, and that they refuse to enter lest they should quickly pass through: and they are unwilling to taste it, lest they should eat no more; and would not enjoy, because they will not be weary of it; and will deny any thing to themselves, even that which they most love, lest, for a while, they should loathe their beloved sin,—we shall see reason enough to affirm these men to be the greatest breakers of the laws of Jesus Christ: though they only tempt themselves, and handle the instruments of sin; and, although these instruments serve nothing but the temptation, and the temptation does not serve the sin, whither in its own nature it is designed[k]."

At page 128 of this volume, he betrays what I should

[k] Vol. xiii. pp. 8, 9.

hardly have expected from him, an ignorance of a legend very generally known, and which is the oldest and most curious of all religious novels, — I mean, the "Acts of Paul and Thecla;" which he supposes, without any sufficient reason, to have been originally circulated as the work of St. Paul himself, and which he calls, (I know not why,) "the vision of Paul and Thecla." The work, in fact, could never have been pretended to be St. Paul's writing, without ascribing to the apostle an incredible degree of vanity, both personal and theological. Jerome, indeed, does not say that the Asiatic presbyter, who was its author, wished to father it on the saint as his own composition, but that he was degraded by St. John for having, though with a good intent, circulated an untrue history concerning an apostle. Nor has the history, as it has descended to our time, (whatever might have been the case with Jerome's copy,) any mention "baptizati Leonis[l]."

Here again he resumes, and resumes with admirable power and without intermixture of doubtful or extraneous matter, his favourite topic of secure and immediate repentance. He quotes St. Eucherius, saying, "Propound to yourself the example of the thief on the cross,— do as he did."—"Yes," proceeds Taylor, "we are too ready to do so, that is, to defer our repentance to the last, being encouraged by his example and success! — No! we do not as he did! — He did not defer his repentance and his faith unto the last; but, in the very first hour in which he knew Christ, in that very instant he did believe, and was really converted. He confessed Christ gloriously, and repented of his sins without hypocrisy; and, if we do so too, this question is at an end, and our repentance shall never be reproved[m]."

He concludes this second book with a splendid peroration on the measures and motives of a Christian's duty, exhorting him to do all his works "in faith and in love, in faith to make them accepted, though they be imperfect; in love, to make them as perfect as they can be."—"He that loves, will think every thing too little; and he that thinks so, will endeavour to do more, and to do it better." — "In the measures of the practice of this rule there is no difficulty,

[l] See Grabe, Spicilegium Patrum, vol. i. p. 81, et seq. [m] P. 194.

but what is made by the careless lives of Christians, and their lazy and unholy principles. At the rate as Christians usually do live, it is hard to know how, and in what instances, and in what degrees, our obedience ought to be more humble and more diligent than that of Moses's disciples. But they that love, will do the thing, and so understand the rule, 'Obedite et intelligetis:' Obey, and ye shall understand [n]."

In the first chapter of the third book, which treats of Human Laws and their obligation,—a case occurs, in illustration of Rule IV. that "a law founded on a false presumption does not bind the conscience," in which the Romish canonists seem to have given a more just decision than Taylor. Biretti, a Venetian gentleman, pretends a desire to marry Julia Medici, the daughter of a neighbour, with a purpose to seduce and desert her. A contract is made; but, before its execution, he gains his end, and, leaving her, marries another. The canonists declare the former contract, followed by congress, to be a marriage, and that he is bound to return to Julia. No, says Taylor, "if he did not lie with her 'affectu maritali,'"—"he was extremely impious and unjust; but he made no marriage; for *without mutual consent*, marriages are not made." Surely mutual consent is expressed by a public contract, as plainly as by any indication of a man's will that can be conceived. And, if Biretti were a hypocrite, it can be no reason why he should be free from the obligation implied by his own deliberate action! I cannot account for the obliquity of this verdict, but I could not pass it over lest my silence should seem like approbation.

The second chapter examines the power of princes to enact penal and tributary laws, and the obligation which rests on their subjects to obey such laws, in which he discusses the lawfulness or obligation of resisting a legal sentence; of prison-breaking; of self-chastisement; and of suicide. The first he admits of when the sentence is palpably unjust, and pronounced by an usurped authority. The second, in all cases where life or limbs are to be preserved; the third he confines to certain ecclesiastical cases; and the

[n] P. 229.

fourth he condemns in all, even when perpetrated by a virgin to save herself from pollution. Yet of such instances of self-murder he speaks with a sort of respectful pity, observing that he only knows that the fact is unlawful. "But how they shall fare in the other world, who, upon such great accounts, are tempted, is one of God's secrets which the great day will manifest[o]."

In the same chapter is an injudicious attempt to justify the supposed fraud of the children of Israel, in borrowing jewels of the Egyptians, without any intention of restoring them. He justifies the action by saying, that God commanded the Israelites so to spoil their enemies. But this is only removing the imputation from the Israelites to the Almighty; and though the Almighty may dispose of the property of his creatures as he pleases, it is not to be supposed that he would command any set of men to obtain their neighbours' goods by fraud. The true answer seems to be that which is given by Michaelis; that though God knew that the Israelites would not return; and though he had communicated a share of his own prescience to Moses, yet the Israelites in general, as they had only asked for a short holiday from their toil, so they never expected or intended more, till the Egyptians, by thrusting them out of the land first, and afterwards by pursuing them with hostile intentions, had deprived themselves of all claim to whatever property they had previously intrusted to them[p].

He has misstated the story in ancient Spanish history, of the princes of Lara or Carion, and the daughters of the Cid Rodrigo of Bivar[q]. The princes fought, not one with another, but both of them against two of the kindred of the Cid, and were beaten as they well deserved. This is, however, a trifle, and the wonder is, rather, that in so multifarious reading, and amid references to all writers and languages, his facts are so generally accurate.

In discussing Laws of Tribute, though, when just, he allows them to be binding on the conscience of the subject, and to oblige him not only to a passive but an active obe-

[o] P. 346.

[p] Michaelis, Law of Moses, translated by Smith, art. clxxix. vol. iii. p. 44, et seq.

[q] P. 398.

dience, he stoutly inveighs against the oppression frequently practised by sovereigns and senates. But, when he arrives at the question of obedience to kings, princes, and supreme civil powers, his doctrines are, as might be expected from a suffering loyalist of Charles the First's day, sufficiently devoted and unqualified. He assigns a greater degree of sacredness to kingly than any other government; he misrepresents the monarchy of Israel, which was, in fact, the most limited, except the Lacedæmonian, of any on record in ancient history; and he not only believes the legend of the martyred Thebæan legion, but insists, with much apparent exultation, on such an illustrious example of non-resistance. His arguments are, however, more to the purpose, when, following on the same side with Hooker, he justifies the power of the civil sovereign over persons and in causes ecclesiastical. They are directed both against the Roman Catholics and the Presbyterians; and, as well as the following chapter on church censures and canons, breathe throughout a moderate and Christian spirit, and are well calculated to place in their true light those ecclesiastical powers, whose thunders sound so formidably in the Church of Rome, and against which, even in Protestant churches, many of the laity are strongly prejudiced, from a misconception of their limits, of their fitness, and their necessity. And I cannot help again observing, that here also he speaks as strongly as ever against the interference of the civil sword in matters of religion.

"This power,"—he is speaking of the commission given by Christ to his apostles and their successors,—"this power and these commissions were wholly ministerial, without domination, without proper jurisdiction, that is, without coaction; *it being wholly against the design of the religion that it should be forced,* and it being far removed from persons so disposed, so employed, so instructed, to do it." "And, therefore, one of the requisites of a bishop is—'he must be no striker:'—he had no arms put into his hand for that purpose; the ecclesiastical state being furnished with authority, but no power, 'auctoritate suadendi magis quam jubendi potestate. —That which the ecclesiastics can do [in the case of church-censures,] is a suspension of their own act, not any power over the actions of other men: and, therefore, is but an use

of their own liberty, not an exercise of jurisdiction. He does the same thing in sacraments as he does in preaching; in both he declares the guilty person to be out of the way to heaven, to be obnoxious to the divine anger, to be a debtor of repentance: and in refusing to baptize an evil catechumen, or to communicate an ill-living Christian, he does but say the same thing. He speaks in one by signs, and in the other, he signifies by words." "This is 'judicium,' not 'jurisdictio,' a judging a man worthy or unworthy; which does not suppose a superiority of jurisdiction, but equals do it to their equals; though, in this, the clergy hath a superiority and a commission from God to do it[r]." Even of this moderate and natural right he condemns the public exercise, in the case of sovereign princes, who, as it is obviously unfit to subject them to open reproof or penance; so when private reproof and private warnings and entreaties have failed, they may, as he conceives, be admitted, if they command it, to the communion[s].

This is, indeed, a difficult question, and one which is not likely to be a practical one. A wicked prince is not very often a hypocrite, and unless he be a hypocrite, it is not probable that he will force himself on rites for which he does not care. There is more courage and dignity in the conduct of St. Ambrose towards Theodosius; there is less danger to the public peace, and an almost equal certainty of obtaining the desired end, in the course recommended by Taylor.

The latter, however, makes another admission, which, if his life had been prolonged a few more years, might have involved him in a very serious difficulty of conscience, and would have divided him, if he had acted on it, from all the best and wisest of his own order and religion. "The unlawful proclamations and edicts of a true prince may be published by the clergy in their several charges[t]!" I wish I had not found this in Taylor; and I thank heaven that this principle was not adopted by the English clergy in 1687. Yet for Taylor many allowances may be made, and many excuses offered for this and the other ultra-monarchical features of his creed. Accustomed as he was to see and feel all the tyranny which then plagued the land, from those

[r] P. 562. [s] P. 598. [t] Ibid.

who, under the colour of freedom, had disturbed and enslaved their country, it was hardly to be expected that his attention could be equally alive to the possibility of the same evils occurring under a legitimate sovereign. And, above all, let it be remembered, that his inclination for absolute monarchy, if it were unwise, was, at least, not interested or servile; that if he carried too high the power of a lawful king, it was when that lawful king was in exile. The "Ductor Dubitantium," though published at the moment of the Restoration, was written and printed while no such event could be looked for, and when all that could be gained by an unlimited loyalty, was the suspicion or persecution of the ruling powers; imprisonment, fine, and aggravated indigence.

In examining the different institutions which are usually deduced from apostolical authority, he lays down as a general rule, though one, he admits, which can be very seldom applicable to practice, and which, without some cogent reason, it would be the height of presumption to put in force, that institutions merely of apostolical tradition, and relating to things in themselves indifferent, may be, by the authority of the church, in after times, dispensed with. This liberty, however, he will not concede in the instances of the Lord's day, of the manner of administering the sacraments, or of episcopacy. The first he excepts not only on account of the fitness of the day itself, but because no other day can be preferred without a causeless neglect of apostolic authority; the others because they relate to the ministries of grace, which can only, under ordinary circumstances, be obtained or hoped for, when sought after in the appointed manner.

To the forty days Lent, he refuses the character of an apostolical institution. He shows, in fact, with great learning, and very convincingly, that the primitive Lent was not of forty *days*, but of forty *hours*, being confined to the Friday and Saturday immediately preceding Easter[u]. To the weekly fasts of Wednesday and Friday he assigns, however, a much greater antiquity, both being named by Clemens Alexandrinus and Tertullian; though neither can, on competent grounds, be ascribed to any commandment of the apostles.

[u] Vol. xiv. p. 40.

From some expresssions in Rule xv. p. 28, it is evident that he regretted, as Wesley afterwards did, the discontinuance of the ancient practice of baptizing by immersion, and even of dipping three times in honour of the Trinity. Like Wesley, he condemns the practice of sprinkling altogether, as contrary both to the analogy of the ceremony, the apostolic tradition, and the canons of the English and Irish church. How, in our climate, and with the contrary prejudices of the people, he would have settled his dispute with mothers and nurses, it is not very difficult to conjecture. The number of those neophytes who would be certified "well able to endure immersion," would, probably, be very limited.

Fond as he appears, from many passages in his writings, of chanting and psalmody, it may be suspected that he had no ear for music. It is singular to compare the reluctant permission which he gives to the use of organs in church, with the glow of feeling which their majestic tones excited in the breast of Milton[x].

The Romish prohibition of marriage, and the sacred authority assigned by their canonists to the decrees of general councils, he exposes with nearly the same arguments, and an equal show of learning, as we have already seen him producing on the same topics in his two Dissuasives from Popery.

He closes the fourth chapter with a discussion of the case of subscription to ecclesiastical articles and forms of confession; which, he insists with becoming strictness, can only be done, in the instance of the English church, by those who sign in the sense of the imposers of the law, and who sincerely approve of that to which they thus express their consent. On the inexpediency of such subscriptions, "to any articles which are not *evidently* true and necessary to be professed," he expresses the same opinions which he had previously urged in his Liberty of Prophesying.—Opinions they are so amiable in themselves, and proceeding from a spirit so enlarged and so thoroughly Christian, that our respect for the man is increased by them, even when we are not convinced by his arguments. Yet, it may be

[x] Page 115. Compare "Il Penseroso."

thought, as I have already endeavoured to show, that a subscription, which would admit the Papist, the Protestant, the Arian, and the Anabaptist within the walls of the same establishment, would, in fact, be equivalent to no subscription at all; and that, though men may, beyond a doubt, be saved by the profession of the apostles' creed alone, yet of those who are to teach others some further examination may well be accounted necessary. After all, Taylor's strongest arguments, both here and in the Liberty of Prophesying, apply less to such confessions in themselves than to the abuses to which they are liable; and, while the supporters of every confession will plead "that it contains, in their opinion, no uncertain or unnecessary articles," no Christian, that is worthy of the name, will deny what Taylor, in the next place, contends for, "that great regard be had, and great ease be done to wise and peaceable dissenters[y]."

His observations on parental authority, and on the "Interpretation, Diminution, and Abrogation of Human Laws," conclude this part of his subject.

The former, is, perhaps, overlaid with too much unnecessary learning, and with obsolete precedents of the power exercised by fathers in the ruder ages of society; and, in the instance of marriage, he gives to parents a control too absolute over their children.

The latter contains some maxims of great truth and practical utility, as where he tells us, "There are some tacit exceptions in all laws that would not be tyrannical." Again, "When the reason of a law, commanding an action otherwise indifferent, does cease universally, the very negative ceasing, passes into the contrary of itself."—"The subject may still do it without sin, but the prince cannot, without sin, command it to be done, when it is to no purpose." This rule, which Taylor applies to the trifling and absurd trials of obedience, which some of the modern Romish saints imposed on the monks in their convents, will apply equally to all cases of obsolete and vexatious regulation, such as, for the very love of authority, are sometimes too dear to men in power.

[y] Vol. xiv. page 163.

There is one passage, however, in this chapter, which must not be allowed to escape without strong and unqualified reprobation. I mean the manner in which he coolly instances, and, in some degree, even justifies, that horrible law of the Roman republic, which decreed that, if any single slave had killed his lord, all the slaves in the house should die for it[z]. Had Taylor considered twice, he could not have thus expressed himself. But of such hideous cruelty and injustice, our detestation ought to be instinctive and immediate.

The fourth and last book, which discusses "the nature and causes of all human actions, good and evil," is, perhaps, the ablest part of the work, as it is certainly the most generally and practically useful.

It is divided into two chapters of very unequal length, of which the first treats of efficient, the other of final causes.

The former is an illustration and expansion of the principle, that the will of man is the seat of good and evil; and that actions are either good or evil according to the intention of the agent. He proves, however, not only that an act of the will alone is imputed, both by God and man, to good or evil; but that a virtual and interpretative consent of the will may make us sharers in the action of another; while the involuntary consequences of a voluntary action are imputed to us as parts of that action, and as if themselves directly chosen.

All these propositions, however, he guards with many distinctions; and introduces many interesting discussions on the legality of different actions or habits connected with, or illustrative of his principles.

Thus, in his discussion of the rule that "the virtual and interpretative consent of the will is imputed to good or evil," besides some curious cases of "ratihabitation and confirmation," he enters into two different inquiries, as to the lawfulness of indulging a guest with an excess of wine, ourselves remaining sober; and whether it be lawful to play at cards or dice?

The first, as may be believed, he answers with an indignant negative. The second he treats more tenderly, though

[z] Page 236.

he, nevertheless, inclines to the opinion that all playing for money is dangerous, if not unlawful.

As diminutions of voluntary actions, he reckons ignorance and fear, of which the first, when total and inevitable, he accounts a perfect annihilation of moral good or evil, the second only in those cases where the understanding is overpowered by the intensity of the danger.

Under the first head, he inquires what those things are of which a man may be innocently ignorant? what degree of diligence is required to exempt us from the charge of wilful or presumptuous ignorance? what is a probable ignorance? &c. He refuses the name of innocent ignorance to those professed Christians, who know not that which the universal church accounts necessary for salvation, though, of disputed points, he allows a man to doubt or to be ignorant with impunity. And he incidentally discusses the responsibility of children, at what time and according to what measures good or evil can be first imputed to them. Here, also, there are some expressions and illustrations which a reader of delicacy will wish away; but the whole work, it may be considered, is scarcely such as females, or very young persons, would study; and it is, after all, perhaps, a curse inseparable from works of casuistry, that questions of a certain kind are always more or less involved in them.

On the final causes of human actions, (his chapter concerning which is, in fact, an amplification of the principle that "Christianity is a religion of motives,") his rules are only three:—1. That, to constitute a good action, the means and end must be symbolical. 2. That for actions in themselves lawful, secondary motives are allowable. 3. That we are bound to regard the end and object of God's commandments, as well as the action commanded in order to the end.

All these he inculcates with his usual force and eloquence, but they offer nothing which calls for any peculiar comment. He concludes with observing, that, "if our actions be designed well, they are likely to end well; for, in the service of God, a golden head shall never have the feet of clay. Nomini tuo da gloriam[a]!"

[a] Page 414.

Many, perhaps the greater part, of his positions are illustrated by examples or by apologues; the former chiefly extracted from the volumes of the Roman casuists, the latter, sometimes, as he tells us in his preface, containing real facts, and cases of conscience which had fallen under his own knowledge, conveyed under fictitious names and circumstances.

Among the first of these, is the famous story which Walpole has worked up into his tragedy of the "Mysterious Mother;" the scene of which has been often laid in England, and the time a little anterior to the Revolution, but which Taylor relates as a Venetian anecdote, to be found in the writings of Comitolus[b]. He uses it to illustrate the position that, "if an error be invincible, and the consequent of the persuasion be consistent with the state of grace, the error must rather be suffered than a grievous scandal, or an intolerable, or very great inconvenience." And he approves of the conduct of those learned and charitable casuists, who, in that case, determined to conceal from the young married couple, the dreadful and complicated incest of which, by that union, they were innocently guilty.

It is not, however, from casuists or divines that he quotes alone. Historians, fathers, rabbies, poets, essayists and jesters, are all ransacked for examples or illustrations, and he has given us one tale, not over decent, from, as he whimsically calls him, "My Lord Montaigne," as well as the celebrated story from the Facetiæ of Poggio, of the Italian robber, who, though his conscience was at rest as to the murders he had committed, was inconsolable for having accidentally broken his fast in Lent[c].

On the whole, the Ductor Dubitantium is the work of a mind acute, vigorous, and imbued with an extent and variety of information which would have overburdened a meaner intellect, and by which Taylor himself is, perhaps, sometimes encumbered rather than adorned. A mind it is essentially poetical rather than critical, ardent in conception more than lucid in arrangement. Yet his conceptions in themselves are almost always clear, though he overlays them not unfrequently with a profusion of words and metaphors,

[b] Vol. xii. p. 30. [c] Vol. xii. 21.—xiii. 218.

and though he is apt to derive his first principles from springs of action in themselves circumstantial and secondary. But, though it offers, in some respects, a less profound and original view of human motives than is to be met with in later writers; though its length renders it less readable, and the author's anxiety to say every thing on both sides of every question may leave a careless reader sometimes in suspense as to his final determination; it is still a work which few can read without profit, and none, I think, without entertainment. It resembles, in some degree, those ancient inlaid cabinets, (such as Evelyn, Boyle, or Wilkins might have bequeathed to their descendants), whose multifarious contents perplex our choice, and offer to the admiration or curiosity of a more accurate age, a vast wilderness of trifles and varieties, with no arrangement at all, or an arrangement on obsolete principles; but whose ebony drawers and perfumed recesses contain specimens of every thing that is precious or uncommon, and many things for which a modern museum might be searched in vain.

On the two works which conclude the fourteenth volume of this collection, I know not that many observations are necessary. "The Divine Institution and Necessity of the Office Ministerial," enforces the same doctrines, and by nearly the same arguments, as have been already considered in speaking of his "Episcopacy Asserted." The application, however, of those principles is, in this place, more general, and levelled rather at those fanatics, who, without any ordination, intrude on the ministerial office, than against those who reject the apostolic form of ecclesiastical government in favour of an aristocracy of presbyters. As such, it is, perhaps, better adapted to the evils of the present time than the work which I have formerly examined.

On the difficult question of lay-baptism, which naturally arises from his present subject, he expresses himself with a becoming doubt and moderation. The tendency of his mind is very plainly to the high-church doctrine, not only that the practice is illegal and presumptuous, but that the rite thus administered is invalid, and ought to be repeated. He admits, however, that the general practice of all Christian churches has been different, and he joins with Augustine

in expressing his own hesitation. "Nescio an piè repetendum[d]."

Those who wish to see the difficulty discussed at greater length, or to learn what has been the practical decision of the Church of England on this interesting inquiry, will find much curious learning and much sound sense in Bingham's "Scholastic History of Lay Baptism." (published in the second volume of his Ecclesiastical Antiquities,) and in the excellent "Elucidation of the Common Prayer," by the late learned and amiable Mr. Shepherd[e]. In his essay on Confirmation, it is remarkable that Taylor himself has varied from his severer opinion, and assents, apparently, to the usual and ancient principle of "Fieri non debuit, factum valet[f]."

His "Rules and Advices to the Clergy," are, in a great degree, extracted from his two Sermons already noticed on "The Minister's Duty in Life and Doctrine[g]. They are methodized, however, and, in some instances, enlarged and rendered more practical. They can hardly be read too often, or, with the necessary allowance for some difference of circumstances between Ireland and England, and between the seventeenth and the nineteenth century, be too carefully or too closely followed.

The Golden Grove begins with a short and simple catechism for young persons, but neither so short, so simple, nor so complete, as that which our liturgy supplies. It has the merit, however, of furnishing a more detailed explanation of some important circumstances in our religion, than a more general and complete system of instruction could contain with the necessary regard to brevity; and may, therefore, be with advantage used in schools and families, conjointly with that of good dean Nowell.

The exposition of the creed, which follows, deserves no higher praise than that of enumerating, under the different heads of the old and compendious confession, the various items which make up the sum of each. Sometimes he mistakes, like Doddridge, amplification for explanation; and I do not know that a devout Christian gains much either of

[d] Pp. 444—452. [e] Elucidation of the Common Prayer, vol. ii. p. 415.
[f] Vol. xiv. p. 268. [g] Vol. vi. p. 483.

knowledge or edification, by having the single word "buried," decomposed into a statement which tells us how Christ, "that he might suffer every thing of human nature, was, by the care of his friends and disciples, by the leave of Pilate, taken from the cross and embalmed, (as the manner of the Jews was to bury), and wrapt in linen, and buried in a new grave hewn out of a rock," &c. His commentaries, however, on the "Holy Ghost,"—"the Holy Catholic Church," and "the Communion of Saints," as they are more necessary and useful, so they are executed with his usual force and doctrinal precision. His "Agenda," too, (though, in some particulars, they are too ascetic, and calculated, it may be thought, to make men formalists rather than sincerely and actively holy;) are, generally speaking, excellent; and his "Postulanda" better still. The "Litanies for all things and persons," only rank inferior to that in our church service; and the other prayers, though some of them too wordy, are such as can hardly be uttered or even read without exciting a spirit of devotion.

At the end of the Golden Grove are some hymns for different festivals, which, had they no other merit, would be interesting as the only remaining specimens of that which a mind so intrinsically poetical as Taylor's was, could effect when he attempted to arrange his conceptions in a metrical form. They are, however, in themselves, and on their own account, very interesting compositions. Their metre, indeed, which is that species of spurious Pindaric which was fashionable with his contemporaries, is an obstacle, and must always have been one, to their introduction into public or private psalmody; and the mixture of that alloy of conceits and quibbles which was an equally frequent and still greater defilement of some of the finest poetry of the seventeenth century, will materially diminish their effect as devotional or descriptive odes. Yet, with all these faults, they are powerful, affecting, and often harmonious: there are many passages of which Cowley need not have been ashamed; and some which remind us, not disadvantageously, of the corresponding productions of Milton.

Such is the whole of the second hymn for Advent. Such too is the passage in his meditation on heaven, where he describes—

" That bright eternity
Where the great King's transparent throne
Is of an entire jasper stone:
There the eye
O' the chrysolite,
And a sky
Of diamonds, rubies, chrysoprase,
And, above all, Thy holy face,
Make an eternal clarity.
When Thou thy jewels dost bind up, that day
Remember us, we pray,
That, where the beryl lies,
And the crystal, 'bove the skies,
There Thou mayst appoint us place,
Within the brightness of Thy face;
And our soul
In the scroll
Of life and blissfulness enroll,
That we may praise Thee to eternity!"

A more regular metre, and words more applicable to public devotion, may be found in the "Prayer for Charity."

" Full of mercy, full of love,
Look upon us from above!
Thou who taught'st the blind man's night
To entertain a double light,
Thine, and the day's, (and that thine too;)
The lame away his crutches threw;
The parched crust of leprosy
Returned unto its infancy;
The dumb amazed was to hear
His own unchain'd tongue strike his ear:
Thy powerful mercy did e'en chase
The devil from his usurped place,
Where thou thyself shouldst dwell, not he.
Oh, let thy love our pattern be;
Let thy mercy teach one brother
To forgive and love another;
That, copying thy mercy here,
Thy goodness may hereafter rear
Our souls unto thy glory, when
Our dust shall cease to be with men[b]."

His work on the Psalter has no resemblance to those of Hammond, Horsley, or even Horne. It merely consists of one or more prayers to each psalm, more or less appropriate to their respective subjects, and followed by a collection of devotions for various occasions. All these last are not

[b] Pp. 64 and 91.

original; all, however, are devout and practical, and, in the alternations of a regular and systematic piety, may be useful. His recommendation, in the preface, of the Psalter as a guide to, and foundation for, as well as an unfailing accompaniment of our daily prayers, is at once characteristic and sensible, and deserves the serious attention of those who have hitherto paid a less habitual deference to the most devotional and one of the most instructive parts of the sacred volume.

The "Collection of Offices," was intended as a substitute for the Common Prayer, when the use of this last was proscribed. As a substitute, it is, certainly, well adapted to its end, and, this being the case, it is no disparagement to say, that it falls extremely short of its original. There are, however, some beautiful prayers in the occasional offices, for widows, — the persecuted, — the prisoners, — the sick and the lunatic, which are admirably qualified to give comfort and relief to the broken heart, and may afford very valuable assistance to the clergy in the most popular and one of the most important of their ministries. The penitential litany, at the end of the work, is a striking summary of human crimes and follies[1].

The last in date, and one of the best and most useful of his devotional works, is his "Worthy Communicant," which is, indeed, as its subject required, not only devotional but practical, and embraces in itself many of the same powerful and persuasive arguments against the self-flattery of the unrepenting sinner, and the needless terrors of the scrupulous conscience, which are detailed at greater length, and with a larger display of authorities, in the controversial and casuistical works which occupy the preceding volumes. This, indeed, with the Holy Living and Dying, may be said to offer a complete summary of the duties and specimen of the devotions of a Christian; in which, while no necessary question of practice or piety is passed over, no doubtful or merely controversial question is admitted. In the lessons which flow from this chair, in the incense which flames on this altar, the sound of worldly polemics is hushed, the light of worldly fires becomes dim. We see a saint in his closet,

[1] Pp. 328, 332, 343, 356, &c.

a Christian bishop in his ministry, and we rise from the intercourse impressed and softened with a sense how much our own practice yet needs amendment, and how mighty has been that faith of which these are the fruits, that hope of which these are the pledges and prelibations.

Of the broader and more general lines of Taylor's literary character, a very few observations may be sufficient. The greatness of his attainments, and the powers of his mind, are evident in all his writings, and to the least attentive of his readers. It is hard to point out a branch of learning or of scientific pursuit to which he does not occasionally allude; or any author of eminence, either ancient or modern, with whom he does not evince himself acquainted. And it is certain, that as very few other writers have had equal riches to display, so he is apt to display his stores with a lavish exuberance, which the severer taste of Hooker or of Barrow would have condemned as ostentatious, or rejected as cumbersome. Yet he is far from a mere reporter of other men's arguments, — a textuary of fathers and schoolmen, — who resigns his reason into the hands of his predecessors, and who employs no other instrument for convincing their readers than a lengthened string of authorities. His familiarity with the stores of ancient and modern literature is employed to illustrate more frequently than to establish his positions; and may be traced, not so much in direct citation, (though of this, too, there is, perhaps, more than sufficient,) as in the abundance of his allusions, the character of his imagery, and the frequent occurrence of terms of foreign derivation, or employed in a foreign and unusual meaning.

It is thus that he more than once refers to obscure stories in ancient writers, as if they were, of necessity, as familiar to all his readers as himself; that he talks of "poor Attilius Aviola," or "the Lybian lion," that "brake loose into his wilderness, and killed two Roman boys;" as if the accidents of which he is speaking had occurred in London a few weeks before. It is thus that, in warning an English (or a Welsh) auditory, against the brief term of mortal luxury, he enumerates a long list of ancient dainties, and talks of "the condited bellies of the scarus," and "drinking of healths by the numeral letters of Philenium's name."

It is thus that one of his strangest and harshest similes, where he compares an ill-sorted marriage to "going to-bed with a dragon," is the suggestion of a mind familiar with those *Lamiæ* with female faces and extremities like a serpent, of whose enticements strange stories are told in the old dæmonologies. And thus that he speaks of the "*justice*" instead of the "juice" of fishes; of an "excellent" pain; of the gospel being preached, not to "the common people," but to "idiots;" and of "serpents," (meaning "creeping things,") devouring our bodies in the grave. It is this which gives to many of his most striking passages the air of translations, and which, in fact, may well lead us to believe that some of them are indeed the selected members of different and disjointed classics.

On the other hand, few circumstances can be named which so greatly contribute to the richness of his matter, the vivacity of his style, and the harmony of his language, than those copious drafts on all which is wise or beautiful or extraordinary, in ancient writers or in foreign tongues; and the very singularity and hazard of his phrases has not unfrequently a peculiar charm, which the observers of a tamer and more ordinary diction can never hope to inspire.

One of these archaisms, and a very graceful one, is the introduction of the comparative degree, simply and without its contrasted quantity, of which he has made a very frequent use, but which he has never employed without producing an effect of striking beauty.

Thus, he tells us of "a *more* healthy sorrow;" of "the air's *looser* garment, or the *wilder* fringes of the fire;" which, though in a style purely English, they would be probably replaced by positive or superlative epithets, could hardly suffer this change without a considerable detraction from the spirit and raciness of the sentence. The same observation may apply to the use of "*prevaricate*," in an active sense; to "the *temeration* of ruder handlings;" and to many similar expressions, which, if unusual, are at least expressive and sonorous, and which could hardly be replaced by the corresponding vernacular phrases without a loss of brevity or beauty. Of such expressions as these, it is only necessary to observe, that their use, to be effectual or allowable,

should be more discreet, perhaps, and infrequent, than is the case in the works of Taylor.

I have already noticed the familiarity which he himself displays, and which he apparently expected to find, in an almost equal degree, in his readers or hearers, with the facts of history, the opinions of philosophy, the productions of distant climates, and the customs of distant nations. Nor, in the allusions or examples which he extracts from such sources, is he always attentive to the weight of authority, or the probability of the fact alleged. The age, indeed, in which he lived, was, in many respects, a credulous one. The discoveries which had been made by the enterprise of travellers, and the unskilful, and as yet immature efforts of the new philosophy, had extended the knowledge of mankind just far enough to make them know that much yet remained uncertain, and that many things were true which their fathers had held for impossible. Such absence of scepticism is, of all states of the human mind, most favourable to the increase of knowledge; but for the preservation of truths already acquired, and the needful separation of truth from falsehood, it is necessary to receive the testimony of men, however positive, with more of doubt than Boyle, Wilkins, or even Bacon, appear to have been accustomed to exercise.

But Taylor was any thing rather than a critical inquirer into facts, (however strange,) of history or philosophy. If such alleged facts suited his purpose, he received them without examination, and retailed them without scruple; and we therefore read, in his works, of such doubtful or incredible examples as that of a single city containing fifteen millions of inhabitants; of the Neapolitan manna, which failed as soon as it was subjected to a tax; and of the monument "nine furlongs high," which was erected by Ninus, the Assyrian.

Nor, in his illustrations, even where they refer to matters of daily observation, or of undoubted truth, is he always attentive to accuracy. "When men sell a mule," he tells us, "they speak of the horse that begat him, not of the ass that bore him." It is singular, that he should forget that, of mules, the ass is always the father. What follows

is still more extraordinary; inasmuch as it shows a forgetfulness of the circumstances of two of the most illustrious events in the Old Testament. "We should fight," says he, "as Gideon did, with three hundred hardy brave fellows that would stand against all violence, rather than to make a noise with rams' horns and broken pitchers, like the men at the siege of Jericho." Had he thought twice, he must have recollected that "making a noise" was at least one principal part of the service required from Gideon's troops, and that the "broken pitchers" were their property alone, and a circumstance of which the narrative of the siege of Jericho affords not the least mention.

An occasional occurrence of such errors is indeed unavoidable; and, irrelevant as some of his illustrations are, and uncertain as may be the truth of others, there is none, perhaps, of his readers who would wish those illustrations fewer, to which his works owe so much of their force, their impressiveness, and their entertainment. As a reasoner, I do not think him matchless. He is, indeed, always acute, and, in practical questions, almost always sensible. His knowledge was so vast, that on every point of discussion he set out with great advantage, as being familiar with all the necessary preliminaries of the question, and with every ground or argument which had been elicited on either side by former controversies. But his own understanding was rather inventive than critical. He never failed to find a plausible argument for any opinion which he himself entertained; he was as ready with plausible objections to every argument which might be advanced by his adversaries; and he was completely master of the whole detail of controversial attack and defence, and of every weapon of eloquence, irony, or sarcasm, which was most proper to persuade or to silence. But his own views were sometimes indistinct, and often hasty. His opinions, therefore, though always honest and ardent, he had sometimes occasion, in the course of his life, to change; and instances have been already pointed out, not only where his reasoning is inconclusive, but where positions, ardently maintained in some of his writings, are doubted or denied in others. But, it should be remembered how much he wrote during a life in itself not long, and, in its circumstances, by no means

favourable to accurate research or calm reasoning. Nor can it be a subject of surprise, that a poor and oppressed man should be sometimes hurried too far in opposition to his persecutors, or that one who had so little leisure for the correction of his works should occasionally be found to contradict and repeat himself.

I have already had occasion to point out the versatility of his talents, which, though uniformly exerted on subjects appropriate to his profession, are distinguished, where such weapons are needed, by irony and caustic humour, as well as by those milder and sublimer beauties of style and sentiment which are his more familiar and distinguishing characteristics. Yet to such weapons he has never recourse either wantonly or rashly. Nor do I recollect any instance in which he has employed them in the cause of private or personal, or even polemical hostility, or any occasion where their fullest severity was not justified and called for by crimes, by cruelty, by interested superstition, or base and sordid hypocrisy. His satire was always kept in check by the depth and fervour of his religious feelings, his charity, and his humility.

It is on devotional and moral subjects, however, that the peculiar character of his mind is most, and most successfully, developed. To this service he devotes his most glowing language; to this his aptest illustrations: his thoughts, and his words, at once burst into a flame, when touched by the coals of this altar; and whether he describes the duties, or dangers, or hopes of man, or the mercy, power, and justice of the Most High; whether he exhorts or instructs his brethren, or offers up his supplications in their behalf to the common Father of all,—his conceptions and his expressions belong to the loftiest and most sacred description of poetry, of which they only want, what they cannot be said to need, the name and the metrical arrangement.

It is this distinctive excellence, still more than the other qualifications of learning and logical acuteness, which has placed him, even in that age of gigantic talent, on an eminence superior to any of his immediate contemporaries; which has exempted him from the comparative neglect into which the dry and repulsive learning of Andrews and Sanderson has fallen;—which has left behind the acuteness

of Hales, and the imaginative and copious eloquence of Bishop Hall, at a distance hardly less than the cold elegance of Clark, and the dull good sense of Tillotson; and has seated him, by the almost unanimous estimate of posterity, on the same lofty elevation with Hooker and with Barrow.

Of such a triumvirate, who shall settle the precedence? Yet it may, perhaps, be not far from the truth, to observe that Hooker claims the foremost rank in sustained and classic dignity of style, in political and pragmatical wisdom; that to Barrow the praise must be assigned of the closest and clearest views, and of a taste the most controlled and chastened; but that in imagination, in interest, in that which more properly and exclusively deserves the name of genius, Taylor is to be placed before either. The first awes most, the second convinces most, the third persuades and delights most: and, (according to the decision of one whose own rank among the ornaments of English literature yet remains to be determined by posterity,) Hooker is the object of our reverence, Barrow of our admiration, and Jeremy Taylor of our love [k].

[k] Ὠκηρον μὲν σέβω θαυμαζω δὲ Βαῤῥουν, καὶ φιλῶ Ταίλωρον. — *Note to Parr's Spital Sermon.*—This characteristic and powerful sentence has been already noticed by Archdeacon Bonney.

NOTES.

NOTE (A.)

Mr. Bonney supposes him to have been their *second* son; but I am indebted to the kindness of my friend and connexion, Mr. Julius Hare, fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, for the following list, extracted from the parish register, which makes it apparent that he had two elder brothers, and one elder sister. There are other persons of the same name mentioned in the register, but none whom we have any reason to suppose connected with the bishop's family. Nor is it quite certain that the surname of Nathaniel Taylor's wife is correctly spelled, the writing in the register being very indistinct. As their first son was named Edmond, it is probable that the Edmond Taylor entered as churchwarden, was Nathaniel's father or near relation.

"1589. Edmond Taylor, churchwarden.

1605. Nathaniel Taylor and Mary Dean, married the 13th of October.

1606. Edmond Taylor, churchwarden.

—— Edmond, son of Nathaniel and Mary Taylor, bapt. August 3.

1607. Edmond Taylor, buried 22d September.

1609. Mary Taylor, daughter of Nathaniel and Mary, bapt. 11th June.

1611. Nathaniel Taylor, son of Nathaniel and Mary, bapt. 8 December.

1613. Jeremy Taylor, son of Nathaniel and Mary, bapt. 15 August.

1616. Thomas Taylor, son of Nathaniel and Mary, bapt. 21 July.

1619. John Taylor, son of Nathaniel and Mary, bapt. 13 April.

1621. Churchwardens, Tobias Smith and Nathaniel Taylor."

There are two old houses in Cambridge, which tradition points out as claimants for the honour of having been the place of Taylor's birth. The preference seems to rest with that which is now the Bull Inn, opposite Trinity Church. The rival tenement, known by the sign of the Wrestlers, in the Petty Cury, is, as I am assured, beyond the limits of the parish where Jeremy Taylor and his brothers were baptized, where his parents were married, and where his father, as above stated, served the office of churchwarden.

NOTE (B.)

The arms are "Ermine, on a chief indented sable, three escallops, or; the crest a lion rampant, issuant, ermine, having between his paws a ducal coronet, or." I find in Gwyllim's Heraldry, p. 244, (a book so full of odd information and entertainment of a peculiar kind, as almost to justify the predilection of Sir Hildebrand Osbaldiston,) that "this coat was confirmed to Roger Taylor, son of Thomas Taylor, son of Roger Taylor, of London, Esquire, by Sir William Segar, Garter, December 4, 1674, in the 12th year of King James the First." But my inquiries at the heralds' office have not succeeded in tracing any connexion between this family, and that either of the bishop, or Doctor Rowland Taylor.

NOTE (C.)

The account of Rowland Taylor's character and sufferings may be found in the Book of Martyrs, p. 155, ed. 1752, and in Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. ii. p. 483. The spot where he suffered on Aldham Common was distinguished, in after times, by a rude stone with a ruder inscription:—

> "Doctor Taylor, for defending what was good,
> In this place shed his blood."

This was enclosed with iron rails by David Wilkins, D.D., rector of Hadleigh in 1721—(See NICHOLL's *Illustrations of Literary History*, vol. iii. p. 436.) In 1819, a neat obelisk was erected above it by subscription, with the following

spirited lines from the pen of the Rev. Dr. Hay Drummond.

" This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith."

" Mark this rude stone, where Taylor dauntless stood,
Where zeal infuriate drank the martyr's blood!
Hadleigh! that day how many a tearful eye
Saw thy loved Pastor dragg'd a victim by!
Still scattering gifts and blessings as he past,
To the blind pair his farewell alms were cast.
His clinging flock ev'n here around him pray'd,
' As thou hast aided us, be God thine aid!'
Nor taunts, nor bribe of mitred rank, nor stake,
Nor blows, nor flames, his heart of firmness shake;
Serene, his folded hands, his upward eyes,
Like holy Stephen's, seek the opening skies: —
There, fix'd in rapture, his prophetic sight
Views truth dawn clear on England's bigot night.
Triumphant Saint! he bow'd to kiss the rod;
Then soar'd on seraph wing to meet his God!"

NOTE (D.)

In the note of Jeremy Taylor's admission at Caius College, (see Bonney, p. 3, 4, note,) his tutor, Bachcroft, represents him as fifteen years of age, and as having been, for ten years, under the tuition of Mr. Lovering. But, in 1626, the year of his entrance, he cannot have been more than thirteen, and he is represented as no more by his friend and encomiast Bishop Rust. It is probable, therefore, that his parents, in order to facilitate his becoming a member of the university, represented him as older than he really was, and as having attended school longer than he could have done with any advantage. Hence, however, a degree of uncertainty has attached itself to his age; and Sir James Ware, in the Catalogue of Irish Bishops, has supposed him, at the time of his death, to have been two years older than he really can have been.

NOTE (E.)

In the " Pietas Puerilis " of Erasmus, the young scholar is made to say, " Adornatâ parentibus mensâ, recito consecrationem, deinde, prandentibus ministro, donec jubeor et ipse prandium sumere."

NOTE (F.)

The archbishop's letter of recommendation is as follows: It has been already published by my friend Mr. Bliss, in his excellent edition of the Athenæ Oxonienses, art. Taylor, p. 782, vol. iii., from Tanner's MSS. in the Bodleian. A copy also, corresponding exactly with this, is in the archives of All Souls.

"*To the Warden and Fellows of All-Souls Coll., Oxford. Salutem in Christo.*

"These are on the behalf of an honest man and a good scholar: Mr. Osborn, being to give over his fellowship, was with me at Lambeth, and, I thank him, freely proffered me the nomination of a scholar to succeed in his place. Now, having seriously deliberated with myself touching this business, and being willing to recommend such an one to you as you might thank me for, I am resolved to pitch upon Mr. Jeremiah Taylour, of whose abilitys and sufficiencys every ways I have received very good assurance. And I do hereby heartily pray you to give him all furtherance by yourself and the fellows at the next election, not doubting but that he will approve himself a worthy and learned member of your society. And, though he has had his breeding, for the most part, in the other university, yet I hope that shall be no prejudice to him, in regard that he is incorporated into Oxford, (ut sit eodem ordine, gradu, &c.,) and admitted into University College. Neither can I learn that there is any thing in your local statutes against it. I doubt not but you will use him with so fair respects, as befits a man of his rank and learning, for which I shall not fail to give you thanks. So I leave him to your kindness, and rest

Your loving friend,

WILLIAM CANT."

"Lambeth House, October 23, 1635."

My authority for the account I have given of the proceedings of the College, in consequence of this letter, is a certificate signed "William Page," contained in a note to a MS. copy of the statutes of All-Souls, with many marginal observations, which formerly belonged to warden

Gardiner, and is now kept in the warden's lodgings as an heir-loom. Page gives the account nearly as I have stated it, and vouches from his own knowledge, (he having been a fellow of the college at the time,) that the fellows were "*almost unanimous in their election of Taylor.*"

The William Page, whose narrative this is, was a person of some reputation among his contemporaries. He became a fellow of All-Souls 1619, and was afterwards, through the patronage of Laud, rector of Reading school, and of East Locking, near Wantage. He wrote, among other things, a Treatise on Bowing at the Name of Jesus, which archbishop Abbot commanded him to suppress; but which Laud, on succeeding to the primacy, encouraged him to publish. —WOOD, *Athenæ*, vol. ii. p. 332. ed. p. 1721.

The nomination of Taylor to the fellowship, on its devolving, as I have stated, to the visitor, has been also published both by Mr. Bliss and Mr. Bonney: —

"Nominatio Jer. Taylor ad locum Socii in Coll. Omn. Anim. Oxon.

"Gulielmus Providentiâ Divinâ Cant. Archiep'us, totius Angliæ Primas & Metropol. necnon Universitatis Oxon. Cancellar. Collegiique Animarum Omnium fidelium defunctorum de Oxon. Visitator, Patronus et Ordinarius. Dilectis nobis in Christo, Custodi, Vice-custodi, omnibusque et singulis dicti Collegii Sociis et scholaribus, salutem et gratiam. Cùm locus Socii Artista Collegii vestri dudum vacaverit, et vacuus est in præsenti, cùmque potestas supplendi deficientem numerum Sociorum vestrorum nobis per statuta vestri Collegii sit reservata, ratione negligentiæ vestræ, eo quod dictus locus Socii vacantis, infra dies in statutis Collegii vestri limitatos, per vos non fuerit perimpletus. Nos numerum Sociorum vestrorum, secundum potestatem à Fundatore vestro nobis commissam implere volentes, Jeremiam Taylor ad dictum locum vacantem designamus vobis, mandantes ut præfatum Jeremiam Taylor ad dictum locum vacantem secundum formam statutorum Collegii vestri recipiatis et admittatis. In cujus rei testimonium, sigillum nostrum Archiep'ale præsentibus apponi fecimus. Dat.' in manerio nostro de Lambehith, vicesimo primo die mensis Novembris, anno D'ni 1635, et nostræ trans. anno tertio."

In consequence of this mandate, Taylor was admitted, as appears by the college book, where he is described as "Jeremias Taylor, Dioc. Elie. Artium Mag. 1636. Jan.14." It is remarkable, that both he and two others, who are admitted at the same time, are described as admitted "in veros et perpetuos Socios." But, to become an actual fellow, in the first instance, without a previous year of probation, is a privilege peculiar to founder's kin. How Taylor came by it I am ignorant. If I could trace his descent to any of the families connected with the stock of Chichele, it would sufficiently confirm my hypothesis of his gentility. But on this point I am without information.

NOTE (G.)

"Then followed the charge of Sancta Clara's book, alias Monsieur S^t^. Giles: so they expressed it, and I must follow the way they lead me. First then, they charge that *I had often conference with him, while he was writing his book entitled* 'Deus, Natura, Gratia.' No; he never came to me till he was ready to print that book. Then some friends of his brought him to me. His suit then was, that he might print that book here. Upon speech with him, I found the scope of his book to be such, as that the Church of England would have little cause to thank him for it: and so absolutely denied it. Nor did he ever come more at me after this, but twice or thrice at most, when he made great friends to me, that he might print another book to prove that bishops are by divine right. My answer then was, that I did not like the way which the Church of Rome went in the case of episcopacy. And, howsoever, that I would never give way that any such book should be printed here from the pen of a Romanist, and that the bishops of England were able to defend their own cause and calling, without calling in aid from Rome; and would in due time. Maintenance he never had any from me, nor did I then know him to be a priest. Nor was there any proof so much as offered in contrary to any of this."—LAUD's *Troubles and Trial*, p. 385.

For the manner of Davenport's introduction to Laud

by Lindsell, see Canterbury's Doom, p. 427; quoted in the Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. iii. col. 1223.

NOTE (H.)

" Quotidianis eorum quos Regiæ commendarent literæ ad gradum quemcunque promotionibus lassata demum Universitas, frequentem vicesimo primo Feb. Senatum coegit, in quo Vicecancellarii & Præfectorum libellus supplex, Regi contra gradus temerè et quasi fortuitò conferendos porrigendus, recitatur. Hi vero damna nobis necessario facienda Carolo ob oculos ponebant, Actibus utique et Exercitiis quibusque Scholasticis in desuetudinem abeuntibus, vel etiam omninò deletis, ærarium academicum exinanitum fore, restinctis quoque magnorum ingeniorum studiis summa Universitatem infamia laboraturam edocentes. Accepto autem supplici illo Togatorum libello, tunc quidem ostendit Rex quàm verè et animitùs bonarum literarum curam ageret. Quamvis enim et opibus et authoritate haud adeo abundanti percommodum videretur fidem suorum et officia honoribus togatis remunerare, statuit tamen et edixit nequis Gradum Academicum in questum ambiens literas suas commendatrices deinceps expectaret; quod, si cuiquam concederentur, ad locum inter Academicos quem expeteret habilem sese et idoneum secundum Statuta probaret, cautionem de præstandis exercitiis interponeret, et feuda consueta persolveret; aliter nullam literarum suarum habendam esse rationem."—Wood, *Hist. et Ant. Ox.* ann. 1642. l. i. p. 359.

NOTE (I.)

" I had no books," says Taylor, " of my own here, nor any in the voisinage; and *but that I remembered the result of some of those excellent discourses I had heard your Lordship make, when I was so happy as, in private, to gather up what your temperance and modesty forbids to be public*, I had come ' in prœlia inermis,' and, like enough, might have fared accordingly." — *Epistle Dedicatory to the Liberty of Prophesying*, vol. vii. p. cccxcvii. For the encouragement and assistance afforded by Hatton to Dug-

dale, see Wood. Athen. ii. Fasti, p. 92; and Dugdale's Dedication to the Antiquities of Warwickshire. Hatton's loyalty and attachment to the Church of England have been never impeached. — Of the first, the Letter from King Charles, published by Mr. Bonney, is an evidence: as is also the sequestration of his estate by the Parliament in 1649.—Whitelock, p. 125. The latter was shown by the pains which he took in frustrating the attempt of Queen Henrietta Maria to bring over the Duke of Gloucester to popery.—See Clarendon, Hist. Reb. iii. 426; and Carte, Life of Ormond, ii. pp. 164, 167-8. It is something remarkable, that none of Taylor's biographers have noticed a passage in his Dedication of the Great Exemplar, in which he appears to claim kindred with Hatton. He there "entreats his lordship to account him in the number of his *relatives*." This is a very unusual expression, if he meant by it no more than "friends" or "dependants;" and the word "relative," is elsewhere employed by Taylor in its usual and modern acceptation. The family of Taylor himself is involved in so much obscurity, that it is hopeless to inquire whether or at what period his ancestors had become connected with those of his patron. But the connexion (though it would, in this case, hardly amount to relationship,) may have been through one of his wives; though on this point also I am without information.

NOTE (J.)

The first edition of this work is in 12mo, entitled, "The Psalter of David, with Titles and Collects according to the matter of each Psalm By the Right Honourable Christopher Hatton. Oxon. 1644." The same work occurs in Royston's Catalogue at the end of "The Great Exemplar, Lond. 1653." And the "Fifth edition, with additionals," is mentioned in the catalogue of the same bookseller, appended to the Συμβολον Ηθικο-πολεμικον. Lond. 1657.

In both cases it is said to be by the Right Honourable Christopher Hatton; and accordingly it is regarded as his work both by Wood and Collins. The preface, however, and many of the prayers, bear evident marks of Taylor's characteristic and inimitable workmanship. And

at length, in the eighth edition enlarged, published by Royston in 1672, the name of Hatton is omitted, and that of "Jer. Taylor, D.D. Chaplain to King Charles Ist. of blessed Memory," is inserted in its place. — To these facts nothing can be opposed but the assertion in the preface, that its author did not "wait at the altar." But, if the work were designed to pass for Hatton's, such an expression is no more than we should expect to find; and the authenticity of the volume is now, indeed, very generally acknowledged.

For most of the facts contained in the above note, I have again to acknowledge my obligations to Mr. Bonney's manuscript information.

NOTE (K.)

William Nicholson was the son of Christopher Nicholson, a rich clothier of Stratford, near Hadleigh, Suffolk. He was brought up as a chorister at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he was afterwards bible clerk, and, eventually, became tutor to the Lord Percy, and chaplain to his father the Earl of Northumberland. In 1616, he was elected master of the free-school at Croydon, where his discipline and powers of instruction were much celebrated. He resigned this situation in 1629, when he obtained the rectory of Llandilo Vawr, in Caermarthenshire; to which were afterwards added the dignities of residentiary of St. David's and archdeacon of Brecknock. In 1643, he was named as one of the assembly of divines at Westminster, probably by the interest of the earl of Northumberland; but he never took his place among them, and his livings being shortly after sequestered, he again taught school for his maintenance, in which way of life he continued till the Restoration.

In 1660-1, he was appointed bishop of Gloucester, by the interest of Lord Clarendon, whom Wood insinuates that he had bribed. But as his character appears to have stood high with all parties, and as he had a strong and legitimate claim on the patronage of government, for his unshaken loyalty, and bold and pertinacious defence of the church during its most helpless and hopeless depression, it seems most reasonable, as well as most charitable, to ascribe his preferment rather to his merits than to simony. He

died Feb. 5, 1671, and was honoured with the following epitaph by the excellent George Bull, afterwards Bishop of St. David's.

"Æternitati S. In spe beatæ resurrectionis, hic reverendas exuvias deposuit Theologus insignis, Episcopus verè primitivus, Gul. Nicholson, in agro Suffolciano natus, apud Magdalenses educatus, ob fidem Regi et Ecclesiæ afflictæ præstitam, ad sedem Glocestrensem meritò promotus, anno 1660. In concionibus frequens, in scriptis nervosus, legenda scribens, et faciens scribenda. Gravitas Episcopalis in fronte emicuit, pauperibus quotidiana charitate beneficus, comitate erga clerum et liberatos admirandus, gloriæ ac dierum satur, in palatio suo, ut vixit, piè decessit, Feb. 5, Anno ætatis LXXII. Dom. MDCLXXI. Elizabetha conjux præivit, in hoc sacello sepulta, Apr. xx. An. Dom. MDCLXIII. Owenus Brigstock de Lechdenny in comitatu Caermarthen, Armiger, prædictæ Elizabethæ nepos, hoc grati animi monumentum, (executore recusante,) propriis sumptibus erexit. An. MDCLXXIX."

Bishop Nicholson's published works, of which a catalogue is given by Wood, are all of a practical and useful character. That he was joined, for a time at least, with Taylor in his school at Newton, appears from the following epitaph which Mr. Bonney has published, and to which I have already alluded in the text:

MS.

"Griffini Lloyd, de Cwmgwilly, Armigeri, qui, honestis parentibus Llanarthneiæ natus, literarum tyrocinia posuit sub summis viris Gul. Nicholsono, Ep. posteà Glocestrensi, et Jer. Tayloro Ep. Dunensi, qui, grassante Cromwellii tyrannide, in hac vicinia victum queritabant."—BONNEY, p. 175.

William Wyat, Taylor's other associate in this undertaking, was born at Todenham, in Gloucestershire; and, after some delay in obtaining his degrees at Oxford, through the calamities attendant on the civil war, became B. D. Sept. 12, 1661. On leaving Newton Hall, he taught at Evesham, in Worcestershire; and, afterwards, was assistant in a private school at Twickenham, kept by William Fuller, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. Under his patronage he was installed prebendary of Lidington, May 13, 1668, and precentor of Lincoln Cathedral, November 6 of the same year. The latter dignity he resigned in 1681, but retained the prebend till his death, which took place in the house of Sir Richard Newdigate, at Nuneaton, in Warwickshire. He was buried at Astley, in the same county, where, over the

communion-table, is a small marble tablet, with the following quaint inscription:

P. M.

" Gulielmi Wyat, S.T.B. quem ab ecclesia Lincoln. (ubi Præcentor erat meritissimus,) huc traxit quietis studium et honoratæ juxta de Arburia familiæ vicinitas et patrocinium, quibus frui cætera omnia lubens desereret. Obiit 9 Septembris, 1685, in magna sua climacteria, et quia, uti vixerat, sic moreretur, omnibus numeris absolutus.

Φιλοτιμεισθαι ἡσυχαζειν."

BONNEY, *MS.* p. 44. BROWNE WILLIS, *Hist. of Cathedrals*, vol. ii. pp. 89. 211.

For Sir John Powell's epitaph I am indebted to his descendant, the Reverend Mr. Evans, of Newtown Hall, in the county of Montgomery.

M. S.
JOHANNIS POWELL, Equitis Aurati,
Qualis fuerit, non ab exiguo Monumenti marmore,
Sed ab annalibus Regni Historicorum Libris
Quæras edoceri. — Bonas Artes, quibus sub optimo Præceptore,
(Jeremiâ Taylor) posteà Episcopo Dunensi,
A primâ Juventute enutritus erat,
In academiâ dehinc Oxoniensi, feliciter excoluit.
Indè (quanquam Literis humanioribus dedito
Ruri eleganter delitescere,
Quæ erat ejus modestia, magis allubescerat)
Patriæ tamen sese deberi ratus,
Nodosis Legem Vinculis implicari
Et in Ferro splendescere
maluit.
Et dummodo prodesset
Conspici non gravatus est.
Honores itaque nunquam solicitus petiit,
Ultro ad se delatos sæpissimè detrectavit.
Utrumque Tribunal,
Banci Regis et Communium Placitorum
Judex, adornavit.
Magni Sigilli Custodiam
Non dubitavit recusare,
Omni scilicet Titulo superior.
Quam strenuus Ecclesiæ Defensor fuerit,
Testis si septem Apostolici Præsules
Quos ob Christi Fidem fortiter vindicatam
Ad ipsius Tribunal accitos
Intrepidus absolvit.
Hinc à Justiciaria Cathedrâ honorificè dejectus,
Non multo post, mutatis Regni Rebus,

Eandem iterum implevit.
Tandem Laboribus quos tulit plurimos,
Dum Patriæ consuleret,
Afflicto cuique et oppresso subveniret,
Teneretque Legum et Monarchiæ Dignitatem.
Fractus decessit,
Anno D. 1696, æt. 63.

Sir John Powell's dignified conduct on the trial of the seven Bishops is well known. Its merit is enhanced, if the tradition of his family, and of this Epitaph, be correct, that he was offered the great seal, if he would pursue a different course.

NOTE (L.)

" ON THE NEW FORCERS OF CONSCIENCE UNDER THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

" Because ye have thrown off your prelate Lord,
And with stiff vows renounc'd his liturgy,
To seize the widow'd whore Plurality
From them whose sin ye envied, not abhorr'd,
Dare ye for this adjure the civil sword,
To force our consciences whom Christ set free,
And ride us with a Classic hierarchy,
Taught you by mere A. S. and *Rutherford?*
Men whose life, learning, faith, and pure intent,
Would have been held in high esteem by Paul,
Must now be nam'd and branded heretics
By shallow Edwards and Scotch What-d'ye-call.
But we do hope to find out all your tricks,
Your plots and packings, worse than those of Trent;
That so the Parliament
May, with their wholesome and preventive shears,
Clip your phylacteries, though baulk your ears,
And succour our just fears,
When they shall read this plainly in your charge,
New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large."

I can hardly think that Goodwin and Peters, the principal individuals who shared with Taylor the indignation of Rutherford and the Presbyterians, were men whom Milton, so ordinarily sparing of his praise, could have extolled as those whom St. Paul would have " held in high esteem." But Taylor was, beyond all comparison, the most illustrious champion of those tolerating doctrines for which Milton himself so nobly contended, and I cannot help supposing

that his name was in the poet's mind, when he was thus assailing their common adversaries.

Rutherford's work is perhaps the most elaborate defence of persecution which has ever appeared in a Protestant country. He justifies it from the *law of nature*, the Mosaic law, the *analogy of the Christian religion*, the practice of the patriarchs and godly princes of old time; the prophecies which foretel that the kings which have sometimes served the Babylonian harlot shall, on their repentance, burn her with fire, and eat her flesh; and the commandment of St. John, that a true believer is not to say God speed to a false teacher. They who condemn the burning of Servetus would have condemned, he tells us, on the same principles, the slaughter of the priests of Baal; and, though he seems, in one place, to have some compunctious doubts as to the propriety of fire as an instrument of conversion, and, on the whole, to give the preference to hanging, yet, he elsewhere urges that, as stoning was the punishment of idolatry under the Mosaic law, and as the despisers of the gospel are, unquestionably, worthy of a much sorer punishment,—so it may be thought that burning hath something in it marvellously suited to the occasion and to the necessities of Christendom. To invade a foreign nation of idolaters with a view to apply such instruments and means of grace, he, indeed, confesses to be of doubtful morality; but it may be, he says, a most interesting and curious question, whether, such a conquest having been effected on other grounds, it is not the duty of the believing conqueror to force away the children of his new subjects, to the end that they may be brought up in the true religion? Such were the sentiments, and so far as they had the power, the practice of Rutherford himself; of Mather, who published, about the same time, a pamphlet entitled " The Tenet of Persecution washed white in the Blood of the Lamb; and of many others, who, when their own hour of trial and suffering came, were ready enough to accuse their adversaries of unchristian and inhuman severity. The arguments of Rutherford are not likely in the present day to make many converts to his opinion. But, if there are any who, from the confidence

with which he urges the example of the ancient Jewish kings and prophets, are led to form opinions unfavourable to a religion with which our own is so closely connected, they may do well to read the Commentaries of Michaelis on the Laws of Moses, book v. chap. 2.; in which the nature of the practices forbidden by the Jewish legislator, and the manner in which his prohibitions differ from persecution in its true and odious sense, are clearly and powerfully stated. I will only add, that where murder or lust are parts of any religious system, the actions, being in themselves offences against the peace of society, are clearly punishable, without examining further into the mistaken notions from which they spring: and such was the case with the superstitions of Canaan.

NOTE (M.)

The pictures of these two ladies are still at Golden Grove, and in good preservation. That of the first displays a countenance marked with all the goodness and benignity which might be expected from the character which Taylor gives her; the second has a much more lofty and dignified air, such as might become the heroine in Comus. The first lady Carbery left three sons and six daughters. Her eldest son, Francis lord Vaughan, married Rachel, daughter of Thomas Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, who survived her husband, and afterwards became conspicuous in English history as the heroic wife and widow of William lord Russel. A copy of Taylor's Essay on Repentance, presented to her by the author, is now in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Swire, of Melsonby, near Richmond, Yorkshire.

From Mr. Bonney's MS. Notes, and information supplied by archdeacon Benyon.

NOTE (M*.)

"The calamities which lately arrived you, came to me so late, and with so much incertitude during my long absence from these parts, that till my returne, and earnest inquisition, I could not be cured of my very greate impatience to be satisfied concerning your condition. But so it pleased

God, that when I had prepared to receive that sad newes, and deplore your restraint, I was assured of your release, and delivered of much sorrow. It were imprudent, and a character of much ignorance, to inquire into the cause of any good man's suffering in these sad tymes; yet, if I have learned it out, 'twas not of my curiosity; but the discourse of some with whom I have had some habitudes since my coming home. *I had read the preface long since to your 'Golden Grove,' remember and infinitely justifie all that you have there asserted. 'Tis true vallor to dare to be undon, and the consequent of truth hath ever been in danger of his teeth; and it is a blessing if men escape so in these dayes, when not the safties onely, but the soules of men are betrayed: whilst such as you, and such excellent assistances as they afford us, are rendered criminal and suffer.* But you, Sir, who have furnished the world with so rare precepts against the efforts of all secular disasters whatsoever, could never be destitute of those consolations which you have so charitably and so piously prescribed unto others: yea, rather, this has turned to our im'ense advantage, nor lesse to your glory, whilst men behold you living your owne institutions, and preaching to us as effectualy in your chaines as in the chaire, in the prison as in the pulpit: for me thinkes, Sir, I heare you pronounce it, as indeede you act it—

> " Aude aliquid brevibus gyaris et carcere dignum
> " Si vis esse aliquis ——

" that your example might shame such as betray any truth for feare of men, whose mission and com'ission is from God. You, Sir, know in the general, and I must justifie in particular, with infinite cognition, the benefit I have received from the truths you have delivered. I have perused that excellent 'Unum Necessarium' of yours to my very greate satisfaction and direction: and do not doubt but it shall, in tyme, gaine upon all those exceptions, which I know you are not ignorant, appeare against it. 'Tis a great deale of courage, and a great deale of perill, but to attempt the assault of an error so inveterate.

" Αι δὲ κειναὶ [κεναὶ] κρίσεις τὸν ἀπέρατον ὁδόν. False opinion knows no bottome, and reason and prescription meet in so [Quære NO?] fewe instances; but certainly you greately

vindicate the divine goodnesse, which the ignorance of men, and popular mistakes, have so long charged with injustice. But, Sir, you must expect with patience the event, and the fruites you contend for: as it shall be my dayly devotions for your successe, who remaine,

" Rev^d. Sir, &c.

" Say's Court, 9 Feb. 1654. " JOHN EVELYN."

EVELYN'S *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 97.

On this letter the editor of the interesting work whence it is extracted observes, " The cause of his [Jeremy Taylor's] imprisonment does not appear." Surely the passage here marked in italics intimates it with sufficient clearness. In the preface to his " Golden Grove," there are, in fact, many passages at which the government were likely to take umbrage. " The people," says the author, " are fallen under the harrows and saws of impertinent and ignorant preachers, who think all religion is a sermon, and all sermons ought to be libels against truth and old governors, and expound chapters that the meaning may never be understood, and pray that they may be thought able to talk, but not to hold their peace, they casting not to obtain any thing but wealth and victory, power, and plunder." —— " They that hate bishops have destroyed monarchy, and they that would erect an ecclesiastical monarchy must consequently subject the temporal to it; and both one and the other would be supreme in consciences, and they that govern there with an opinion that in all things they ought to be attended to, will let their prince govern others, so long as he will be ruled by them."

" *If any man shall not decline to try his title by the word of God*, it is certain there is not in the world a better guard for it than the true protestant religion, as it is taught in our church. But let all things be as it pleases God, &c. &c."

I am aware that in all these expressions Taylor might plead that he meant no more than to recommend his sect to the toleration or protection of the ruling powers. But even a less jealous party than the Presbyterians, and a less arbitrary governor than Cromwell, might, in such times, find it necessary to notice them.

The above letter, it will be observed, is dated in 1654. It is certain, however, either that Evelyn has written 4 for

5 by mistake, or that he has, in this instance, followed a practice (at that time not uncommon in England, but of which his other letters give us no example,) of reckoning the beginning of each year from Lady Day, so that the months of January, February, and March, down to the 25th, were ascribed to the preceding year. This space was generally dated 165⅘, &c.; but sometimes also with the date of the preceding year only. And it is certain that the letter in question cannot have been written before 1655, from his assertion that he had "long since read the preface to the 'Golden Grove,' and had now seen the 'Unum Necessarium.'" But, on consulting the books of Stationers' Hall, I find that of these works the 'Golden Grove' was only entered there on January 26, 165⅘, and the 'Unum Necessarium' not till the 3d of May following. It is true, indeed, and we must bear it in mind in order to account for the fact of his having seen these works at all, that the entrance of a work at Stationers' Hall, is not necessarily or usually immediate on its first publication. But many months are seldom allowed to elapse before this precaution is taken; and we may, therefore, fix the appearance of the 'Golden Grove' at the beginning of January, and the 'Unum Necessarium' somewhat later in the same month. For the former, indeed, it would be desirable if an earlier date could be fixed, both in order to render Evelyn's long acquaintance with it a less improper mode of speaking, and to give time for Taylor's consequent imprisonment. And I am, therefore, inclined to apprehend that, although the first edition of the 'Golden Grove' is dated in 1655, it was nevertheless, published in Michaelmas term 1654. I am informed by a learned friend, whose familiarity with the curiosities of English literature has been rarely surpassed or equalled, that "the custom of *antedating* new books is still practised pretty extensively, and it was equally common in Taylor's day. Among Anthony a-Wood's books are (I should think) more than an hundred, on which the honest antiquary hath written, 'This booke came out (on such a day), though it be dated (at such a time.)' And it is not impossible that the 'Golden Grove' might have been in a similar predicament. If this be allowed, and we conclude, as I think we well may, that Evelyn's letter was not written till 1655, there will remain a period of between

four and six months, which would be quite sufficient to allow Evelyn's long familiarity with the preface."

NOTE (N.)

"April 15, 1654. I went to London to hear the famous Dr. Jeremy Taylor, (since bishop of Down and Connor), at St. Greg. on 6 Matt. 48. concerning evangelical perfection."

"March 18, 1655. Went to London on purpose to heare that excellent preacher, Dr. Jeremy Taylor, on 14 Matth. 17; shewing what were the conditions of obtaining eternal life; also concerning abatements for unavoidable infirmities, how cast on the accompt of the crosse. On the 31st I made a visit to Dr. Jer. Taylor, to confer with him about some spirituall matters, using him thenceforward as my ghostly father. I beseech God Almighty to make me ever mindfull of and thankful for his heavenly assistances."—EVELYN's *Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 273—293.

NOTE (O.)

"REVD. SIR,

"It was another extraordinary charity which you did me when you lately relieved my apprehensions of your danger by that which I just now received: and, though the general persecution reinforce; yet it is your particular which most concernes me in this sad catalysis and declension of piety to which we are now reduced. But, Sir, what is now to be don that the starrs of our bright hemisphere are every where pulling from their orbs? I remember where you have sayd it was the harbinger of the greate day, and a very sober and learned person, my worthy friend, the greate Oughtred, did the other day, seriously persuade me 'parare in occursum,' and will needs have the following yeares productive of wonderfull and universal changes. What to say of that I know not: but certaine it is we are brought to a sad condition. I speake concerning secular yet religious persons; whose glory it will only be to lie buried in your ruines, a monument too illustrious for such as I am. For my part, I have learned from your excellent assistances to humble myselfe, and to adore the inscrutable pathes of the Most High: God and his truth are still the same, though the foundations of the world be shaken. Julianus Redivivus can shut the schooles indeede,

and the temples; but he cannot hinder our private intercourses and devotions, where the breast is the chappell and our heart is the altar. Obedience founded in the understanding will be the onely cure and retraite. God will accept what remaines, and supply what is necessary. He is not obliged to externals, the purest ages passed under the cruelest persecutions: it is sometymes necessary; and this, and the fulfilling of prophecy, are all instruments of greate advantage (even whilst they presse, and are incumbent) to those who can make a sanctified use of them. But as the thoughts of many hearts will be discovered, and multitudes scandaliz'd; so are there divers well-disposed persons who will not know how to guide themselves, unlesse some such good men as you discover the secret, and instruct them how they may secure their greatest interest, and steere their course in this darke and uncomfortable weather. Some such discourse would be highly seasonable now that the daily sacrifice is ceasing, and that all the exercise of your functions is made criminal, that the light of Israel is quenched. Where shall we now receive the viaticum with safety? How shall we be baptiz'd? For to this passe it is come, Sir. The comfort is, the captivity had no temple, no altar, no king. But did they not observe the passover, nor circumcise? Had they no priests and prophets amongst them? Many are weake in the faith, and know not how to answer; nor whither to fly: and if upon the apotheosis of that excellent person, under a malicious representation of his martyrdom, engraven in copper, and sent me by a friend from Bruxelles, the Jesuite could so bitterly sarcasme upon the embleme:

> "Projicis inventum caput, Anglia [Angla?] Ecclesia! cæsum
> Si caput est, salvum corpus an esse potest?—

how thinke you will they now insult, ravage, and breake in upon the flock; for the shepheards are smitten, and the sheepe must of necessity be scattered, unlesse the greate Shepheard of soules oppose, or some of his delegates reduce and direct us. Deare Sir, we are now preparing to take our last farewell (as they threaten) of God's service in this citty, or any where else in publique. I must confesse it is a sad consideration; but it is what God sees best, and to what we

must submitt. The comfort is, 'Deus providebit.' Sir, I have not yet been so happy as to see those papers which Mr. Royston tells me are printing, but I greately rejoyce that you have so happily fortified that batterie, and I doubt not but you will maintaine the siege: for you must not be discouraged for the passions of a few. Reason is reason to me wherever I find it, much more where it conduces to a designe so salutary and necessary. At least, I wonder that those who are not convinced by y^r^ arguments, can possibly resist y^r^ charity, and y^r^ modesty: but as you have greatly subdued my education in that particular, and controversy; so am I confident tyme will render you many more proselytes. And if all doe not come so freely in with their suffrages at first, you must, with y^r^ accustomed patience, attend the event.

"S^r^, I beseech God to conduct all y^r^ labours, those of religion to others, and of love and affection to me, who remayne, "Sir, your, &c.

"Lond. 18 Mar. [qu. *Mai.*] 1655." ——.

EVELYN'S *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 98.

The above letter, as it now stands, is dated Mar. 18, 1655. But, on that day, as appeared by the preceding extract from his diary, Evelyn had attended Taylor's preaching. The devout laity of the episcopal church were, therefore, not at that time deprived of the means of grace in the manner which this letter deplores. Nor does it seem likely that a letter of such a length, and written in such a manner, would be addressed to a person with whom the writer expected shortly to communicate personally, or with whom he had a few hours before communicated. Again, when he speaks of having received assurances of Taylor's safety, — when he talks of being buried in his ruins, &c. he seems to imply that Taylor was then actually in prison, or in some urgent and great danger. And, further, on the 31st of March, Taylor and Evelyn had another interview. Then, therefore, if such a letter had passed between them a few days before, was the time for Taylor to give an answer to the wish expressed in it. We find, however, that this letter remained unanswered till January in the following year, since this is clearly the one referred to in Taylor's letter of this last date,

inasmuch as he there speaks of "the vile distich on the departed saint." I am, therefore, of opinion that here again, as well as in the former letter, the date has been incorrectly given, and that we should read not March but May, by which time, it is extremely probable that Taylor's imprisonment at Chepstow may have commenced.

It may be observed, that the passage in Taylor's works, to which Evelyn refers, in which the calamities of the time were said to be "harbingers of the great day," is, probably, to be met with in his "Episcopacy Asserted," (vol. vii. p. 5.) where he suggests, "that the abolition of episcopacy is the forerunner and preparatory to the great apostasy." The Oughtred, who expressed the same opinion, was William Oughtred, author of the Clavis Mathematica, and other works, and the most illustrious geometrician of his time. The church of England was, undoubtedly, in 1655, exposed to fresh and bitter persecutions, of which an interesting account will be found in the following extract from Parr's Life of Usher.

"Cromwell being now [in 1655] highly enraged against the loyal party, for their indefatigable though unsuccessful endeavours for his Majesty's restoration to his throne, after he had showed himself very implacable and severe to the cavalier gentry, as they then called them, began now to discharge part of his rage upon the orthodox clergy, forbidding them, under great penalties, to teach schools, or to perform any part of their ministerial functions: whereupon some of the most considerable episcopal clergy, in and about London, desired my lord primate that he would use his interest with Cromwell, (since they heard he pretended a great respect for him), that, as he granted liberty of conscience to almost all sorts of religions, so the episcopal divines might have the same freedom of serving God in their private congregations, since they were not permitted the public churches, according to the liturgy of the church of England; and that neither the ministers, nor those that frequented that service, might be any more hindered or disturbed by his soldiers. So, according to their desires, he went and used his utmost endeavours with Cromwell, for the taking off this restraint, which was at last promised, (although with some difficulty), that they should not be molested, provided they meddled not

with any matters relating to his government. But, when the lord primate went to him a second time, to get this promise ratified and put into writing, he found him under his chyrurgeon's hand, who was dressing a great boyl which he had on his breast; so Cromwell prayed the lord primate to sit down a little, and that when he was dressed he would speak with him. Whilst this was a doing, Cromwell said to my lord primate, if this core, (pointing to the boyl), were once out, I should quickly be well; to whom the good bishop replied, 'I doubt the core lies deeper, there is a core at the heart that must be taken out, or else it will not be well.' 'Ah!' replyed he, seeming unconcerned [Quære *concerned?*] 'so there is indeed!' and sighed. But when the lord primate began to speak to him concerning the business he came about, he answered him to this effect, that he had since better considered it, having advised with his council about it, and that they thought it not safe for him to grant liberty of conscience to those sort of men, who are restless and implacable enemies to him and his government; and so he took his leave of him, though with good words and outward civility. The lord primate, seeing it was in vain to urge it any farther, said little more to him, but returned to his lodging, very much troubled and concerned that his endeavours had met with no better success. When he was in his chamber, he said to some of his relations and myself that came to see him, 'This false man hath broken his word with me, and refuses to perform what he promised. Well, he will have little cause to glory in his wickedness,—he will not continue long. The king will return. Though I shall not live to see it, you may. The government, both in church and state, is in confusion, the Papists are advancing their projects, and making such advantages as will hardly be prevented.'"—PARR's *Life of Usher*, p. 75.

NOTE (P.)

"12 April, 1656. Mr. Berkeley and Mr. Robert Boyle, (that excellent person and great virtuoso), Dr. Taylor and Dr. Wilkins, dined with me at Saye's Court, when I presented Dr. Wilkins with my rare burning-glasse. In the afternoone we all went to Colonel Blount's, to see his new-invented plows."

"6th May. I brought Monsr. le Franc, a young French Sorbonist, a proselyte, to converse with Dr. Taylor. They fell to dispute on original sin, in Latine, upon a book newly published by the Doctor, who was much satisfied with the young man."

"7th. I visited Dr. Taylor, and prevailed on him to propose Monsr. le Franc to the bishop, that he might have orders; I having sometime before, brought him to a full consent to the church of England, her doctrine and discipline, of which he had till of late made some difficulty: so he was this day ordained both deacon and priest, by the bishop of Meath. I paid the fees to his lordship, who was very poore and in greate want. To that necessity were our clergy reduced!" —EVELYN'S *Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 298, 299.

What bishop it was whom Evelyn describes as the bishop of Meath, I cannot conjecture. Certain it is that there was no bishop of that see at this time, the last, Dr. Anthony Martin, having died in great poverty at Dublin, in the year 1650, and his see not being filled up till after the restoration. WARE, *Hist. Ireland*, vol. i. p. 158. Ed. Harris.

NOTE (Q.)

As the little tract in question is extremely scarce, I have subjoined some extracts, which will give the reader an idea of the manner in which the dialogue is carried on between the lady who inveighs against, and her who justifies face-painting. In the frontispiece to the second edition, these two disputants are represented,—the one prim, stern, and plainly apparelled, the other, in the style of Lely's portraits, patched, her hair in ringlets, with naked shoulders, a fan in her hand, and, so far as the artist was able, beautiful. The grim lady begins the conversation.

"Madam,—I am not more pleased to see you look so well, beyond what you were wont, than I am jealous (to be free with you) lest a person so esteemed as you are for modesty and piety, should use some colour or tincture to advance your complexion; which, indeed, I take to be no better than that odious and infamous way of painting, every where in all ages so much and so justly spoken against, both by God and good men; being a most ungodly practice, though generally (as they say) now used in England (more or less)

by persons of quality, who, not content with nature's stock of beauty, do (not by a fine, but filthy art) add something to the advantage, as they think, of their complexions; but I fear to the deforming of their souls, and defiling of their consciences.

"Truly, madam, I absolutely think (without any mincing or distinction) all colour or complexion added to our skins and faces, beyond what is purely natural, to be a sin, as being flatly against the word of God, which I suppose you grant to be the indispensable and unchangeable rule of all moral holiness, from which we may not warp in the least degree upon any pretensions to advance our honours, estates, healths, or beauties. First, then, if your ladyship look into 2 Kings, ix. 30. you shall see wicked Jezebel, though a queen, yet not tolerated or excused, but foully branded and heavily punished for painting her eyes or face; for which she was afterwards, by a most deformed destiny, justly devoured of dogs; as the most reverend lord primate of Armagh observes, in his larger catechism upon the seventh commandment. Which fearful stroke of divine vengeance, and censure of so learned and pious a person, (making that her painting a most meritorious and principal cause of her so sad destiny,) are sufficient, I think, to scare the most adventurous woman from any such sinful and accursed practice."

This is wretched work—but these are some of the arguments of the beaten party. Let us now examine the other side. What follows is as favourable a specimen as I can find; and is, certainly, not without wit, but I cannot persuade myself that it resembles the style of Jeremy Taylor.

"When was your ladyship scandalized with any grave and sober matron, because she laid out the combings or cuttings of her own or others more youthful hair, when her own (now become withered and autumnal) seemed less becoming her? How many both men's and women's warmer heats in religion do now admit not only borders of foreign hair, but full and fair peruques on their heads, without sindging one hair by their disputative and scrupulous zeal, which in these things of fashion, is now grown much out of fashion? Your ladyship's charity doth not reprove, but pity, those poor Vulcanists, who balance the inequality of

their heels or badger-legs, by the art and help of the shoemaker; nor are those short-legged ladies thought less godly who fly to chopines, and by enlarging the phylacteries of their coats, conceal, at once, both their great defects in native brevity, and the enormous additions of their artificial heights, which make many small women walk with as much caution and danger almost, as the Turk danceth on the ropes. Who ever is so impertinent a bigot, as to find fault when the hills and dales of crooked and unequal bodies are made to meet without a miracle, by some iron bodice, or some benign bolsterings? Who fears to set straight, or hide the unhandsome warpings of bow-legs, and baker-feet? What is there as to any defect in nature, whereof ingenuous art as a diligent handmaid waiting on its mistress, doth not study some supply or other, so far as to graff in silver plates into cracked skulls, to furnish cropt faces with artificial noses, to fill up the broken ranks and routed files of the teeth with ivory adjutants or lieutenants. Yet against all or any of these and the like reparative inventions, by which art and ingenuity studies to help and repair the defects or deformities, which God, in nature, or providence, is pleased to inflict upon our bodies, no pen is sharpened, no pulpit is battered, no writ of rebellion, or charge of forgery and false coinage, is brought against any in the court of conscience; no poor creature (who thankfully embraceth, modestly useth, and with more chearfulness serveth God, by means of some such help, which either takes away its reproach, or easeth its pain,) is scared with dreadful scruples, or so terrified with the threatenings of sin, hell, and damnation, as to cast away (much against their wills) that innocent succour, which God in nature and art had given them; from which they part with as much regret as the poor man did from his darling lamb, which the rich man's insolence, not his indigence, not his want, but wantonness, forced from him. Rather, we are so civilly pious in these cases, as to applaud others, no less than please ourselves in those happy delusions, whereby we conceal, or any way compensate these our deformities or defects in any kind, which seem to us less convenient, or to others less comely, in this our mortal and visible pilgrimage. Only if the face (which is the metropolis of humane majesty, and as it were the

cathedral of beauty, or comliness, in the little world or polity of our bodies,) if this have suatained any injuries (as it is most exposed to them) of time, or any accident; if it stand in need of any thing that our charity and ingenuity in art can help it to, though the thing be never so cheap, easie and harmless, either to enliven the pallid deadness of it, and to redeem it from mortmain, or to pair and match the inequal cheeks to each other, when one is as Rachel, the other as Leah, or to cover any pimples and heats, or to remove any obstructions, or to mitigate and quench excessive flushings, hereby to set off the face to such decency and equality as may innocently please ourselves and others, without any thought to displease God, (who looks not to the outward appearance, but to the heart,) what censures and whispers, yea, what outcries and clamours, what lightnings and thunders, what anathemas, excommunications, and condemnations, fill the thoughts, the pens, the tongues, the pulpits of many angry (yet it may be well meaning) Christians, both preachers and others, who are commonly more quick-sighted and offended with the least mote they fancie of adding to a lady's complexion, than with many camels of their own customary opinions and practices? Good men, though in other things not only of fineness and neatness, but even of some falsity and pretension, they are so good-natured and indulgent as to allow their lame or their crooked wives and daughters, whatever ingenuous concealments and reparations, art and their purses can afford them; yet, as to the point of face-mending, they condemn them, like Paul's church, to sink under everlasting ruines. The most of your plainer bred, and as it were home-spun professours and preachers, who never went far beyond their own houses, can with less equal eyes behold any woman, of never so great quality, if they see or suspect her to be adorned any whit beyond the vulgar mode, or decked with feathers more gay and goodly than those birds use, which are of their own countrey nest. In which cases of feminine dressing and adorning, no casuist is sufficient to enumerate, or resolve the many intricate niceties and endless scruples of conscience, which some men's and women's more plebeian zelotry makes, as about ladies cheeks and faces, if they appear one dram or degree more quick and rosie than they were wonted; so

about the length and fashion of their clothes and hair. One while they are so perplexed about the curling of ladies' hair, that they can as hardly dis-intangle themselves as a bee entangled in honey; otherwhile they are most scrupulous mathematicians to measure the arms, wrists, necks and trains of ladies, how far they may safely venture to let their garments draw after them on the ground, or their naked skins be seen. Here, however, some men can bear the sight of the fairest faces, without so much as winking, (where the greatest face of beauty is displayed,) yet they pretend that no strength of humane virtue can endure the least assaults, or peepings of naked necks, if they make any discovery or breaking forth below the ears. Not that any modest mind pleads for wanton prostituting of naked breasts, where the civiller customs of any countrey forbids it; but some men's rigour and fierceness is such, that if they espy any thing in the dress, clothes, or garb of women, beyond what they approve, or have been wonted to, presently the taylors, the tire-women, the gorget-makers, the seamstresses, the chamber-maids, the dressers, and all that wretched crew of obsequious attendants, are condemned as anti-christian, and only fit to wait upon the whore of Babylon. Nor do the poor ladies (though otherwise young and innocent, though as vertuous as handsome, or if possibly elder, every way exemplary for modesty, gravity and chastity, yet they do not) without great gifts and presents (as by so many fines and heriots,) redeem themselves from some men's severe censures; and if they do take any freedom to dress and set forth themselves after the best mode and fashion, it costs them as much as the Roman captain's freedom did him; when indeed they are (as St. Paul pleaded) free-born, not only in nature, but as to grace and the new birth, which is no enemy to what fashion's modesty may bear, and which decency, civility, and custom, do require."

The "Turk" mentioned in the above quotation, was, no doubt, a rope-dancer of that nation, mentioned by Evelyn as "the famous funamble Turk," who appears to have been allowed to exhibit his talents during the commonwealth, notwithstanding the prohibition of most public amusements.

NOTE (R.)

"25 March, 1657. Dr. Taylor shewed me his MSS. of

Cases of Conscience, or *Ductor Dubitantium*, now fitted for the presse.

" 7th June. My fourth sonn was born, christened George, after my grandfather; Dr. Jer. Taylor officiating in the drawing-room.

" July 16. On Dr. Jer. Taylor's recommendation, I went to Eltham, to help one Moody, a young man, to that living, by my interest with the patron." Vol. i. pp. 304, 305, 306.

NOTE (T.)

" He [Heneage Finch, afterwards earl of Nottingham,] had a brother, named Francis Finch; bred up also under E. Silvester, who was afterwards a Gent. Comm. of Balliol Coll., but, leaving it without a degree, went to London, studied the law, and became a barrister of one of the Temples; but, before he had long practised, he died, yet lives still in those several pieces of ingenuity he left behind him, wherein he falls not short of the best of poets. And because *Poeta est finitimus Oratori*, he might have proved excellent in that too, having so incomparable a precedent as his brother, Sir Heneage Finch. Among the several specimens of his poetry which I have seen, is a copy of verses before Will. Cartwright's poems, an. 1651, as there is of his brother John: another before a book entitled *Aires and Dialogues* for *one, two, and three voices*, Lond. 1653, fol. published by Hen. Lawes. In the body of which book he hath a poem, entitled *Cælia singing*, to which the said Lawes composed an air of two parts to be sung, &c." — *Fasti*, vol. ii. p. 59.

Mr. Finch's Discourse on Friendship, is not mentioned by A. Wood, any more than that on Honour, both which, however, are extolled by Orinda, in her address (Poems, p. 19) " to the noble Palæmon on his incomparable Discourse of Friendship:" and her description of " Mr. Francis Finch, the excellent Palæmon," (ib. pp. 91, 93.)

" 'Twas he that rescued gasping Friendship, when
The bell toll'd for her funeral with men;
'Twas he that made friends more than lovers burn,
And then made love to sacred friendship turn;
'Twas he turn'd Honour inward, set her free
From titles and from popularity.
Now fix'd to virtue, she begs praise of none,
But witness'd and rewarded both at home."

NOTE (U.)

"TO THE LIEUTENANT OF THE TOWER.*

"SIR,

"I should begin with the greater apologie for this addresse, did not the consideration of the nature of y^r^ greate employment and my feares to importune them carry with them an excuse which, I have hope to believe, you will easily admit. But as it is an errour to be troublesome to great persons upon trifling affaires, so were it no less a crime to be silent in an occasion, wherein I may do an act of charity, and reconcile a person to your good opinion, who has deserved so well, and I thinke is so innocent. Sir, I speake in behalfe of Dr. Taylor, of whom I understand you have conceived some displeasure for the mistake of his printer, and the readiest way that I can thinke of to do him honour and bring him into esteeme with you, is to beg of you that you will please to give him leave to waite upon you, that you may learn from his owne mouth, as well as the world has done from his writings, how averse he is from any thing that he may be charged withall to his prejudice, and how greate an adversary he has ever bin, in particular, to the Popish religion, against which he has employed his pen so signally, and with such successe. And, when, by this favour you shall have don justice to all interests, I am not without faire hopes, that I shall have mutually obliged you both, by doing my endeavour to serve my worthy and pious friend, and by bringing so innocent and deserving a person into your protection; who am,

"SIR, &c."

"From Greenwich, 14 Jan. 1656-7.

"Feb. 25, 1658. Came Dr. Jeremy Taylor and my brothers, with other friends, to visite and condole with us."

"March 7. To London to hear Dr. Taylor in a private house, on xiii. Luke, 23, 24. After the sermon followed the blessed communion, of which I participated. In the afternoon, Dr. Gunning, at Excester house, expounding part of the creede." — EVELYN's *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 312.

* This was written for another gentleman, an acquaintance with the villain who was now lieut. of the Tower;—Baxter, by name, for I never had the least knowledge of him.—EVELYN's *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 113.

It is singular that, in the minutes of the privy council, which have been examined for me by the kindness of my valued friend, H. Hobhouse, Esquire; no traces appear of any order for Taylor's imprisonment, or his appearance before them, either on this occasion, or when he was confined in the castle at Chepstow. For this omission it is not easy to account. How a supposed state criminal could be put in confinement without such an order appearing is not plain, unless we suppose that, in those arbitrary times, the committees and inferior agents of the government exercised the power of imprisonment. It is, indeed, noticeable that Evelyn's letter is addressed to the Lieutenant of the Tower himself, and that he speaks of Taylor as having incurred *his* displeasure, as if he had been the cause of his imprisonment as well as the keeper of his prison. In the Tower, however, whose records have been also consulted, no warrants or commitments are preserved of a date anterior to the Restoration.

NOTE (V.)

Had Taylor forgotten the testimony of Hegesippus, concerning the grand-children of St. Jude, the last survivors of the house of David, and, after the flesh, the kinsmen of our Lord, who were examined and dismissed without injury by Domitian? See Rowth, Reliquiæ Sacræ, vol. i. p. 196. I would rather believe that he had forgotten the story, than that he regarded as fabulous a narrative so probable in itself and so apparently authentic.

NOTE (W.)

Taylor alludes to the following passage from the neglected work of Thomas Aquinas, which may serve, at least, as a specimen of those subtleties which once exercised the best wits in Christendom. The practice of Aquinas must be borne in mind; that, namely, he states the arguments on both sides, and then moderates between them.

QUÆSTIO I. ART. 4.

"Utrum Angeli differant in specie."

"Ad quartum sic proceditur. Videtur quod Angeli non differant in specie. Cum enim differentia sit nobilior genere, quæcunque conveniunt secundum id quod est nobilissimum

in eis, conveniunt in ultima differentia constitutione, et ita sunt eadem secundum speciem. Sed omnes Angeli conveniunt in eo quod est nobilissimum in eis, — s. in intellectualitate. Ergo omnes Angeli sunt unius speciei. Præterea magis et minus non diversificant speciem. Sed Angeli non videntur differre ab invicem nisi secundum magis et minus: prout scilicet unus aliis est simplicior et perspicacioris intellectus. Ergo Angeli non differunt specie. Præterea anima et angelus ex opposito dividuntur: sed omnes animæ sunt unius speciei, ergo et angeli Præterea quanto aliquid est perfectius in naturâ, tanto magis debet multiplicari. Hoc autem non esset si in unâ specie esset unum tantum individuum. Ergo multi Angeli sunt unius speciei. Sed contra est, quod in his quæ sunt unius speciei, non est invenire prius et posterius, ut dicitur in 3 metaph. Sed in Angelis etiam unius ordinis sunt primi et medii et ultimi, ut dicit Dion. 10. C. angelicæ hierar. Ergo Angeli non sunt unius speciei. Conclusio.—Cum omnes spirituales substantiæ ex materiâ et formâ compositæ non sint, ejusdem non sunt speciei. Respondeo dicendum, quod quidam dixerunt omnes substantias spirituales esse unius speciei etiam animas. Alii vero quod omnes Angeli sunt unius speciei sed non animæ. Quidem vero quod omnes Angeli unius hierarchiæ, aut etiam unius ordinis. Sed hoc est impossibile. Ea n. quæ conveniunt specie et differunt numero, conveniunt in formâ, sed distinguuntur materialiter. Si ergo Angeli non sunt compositi ex materiâ et formâ ut dictum est supra: sequitur quod impossibile sit esse duos angelos unius speciei, sicut etiam impossibile esset dicere quod essent plures albedines separatè aut plures humanitates, cùm albedines non sint plures, nisi secundum quod sunt in diversis substantiis. Si tamen Angeli haberent materiam, nec sic tamen possunt esse plures Angeli unius speciei. Sic enim oporteret quod principium distinctionis unius ab alio esset materiâ, non quidem secundum divisionem quantitatis, cum sint incorporei, sed secundum diversitatem potentiarum. Quæ quidem et diversitas materiæ causat diversitatem non solum speciei sed et generis. Ad primum ergo dicendum quod differentia est nobilior genere, sicut determinatum indeterminato et proprium communi, non autem sicut alia et aliâ naturâ. Alioquin oporteret quod omnia animalia irra-

tionalia essent unius speciei, vel quod esset in eis aliqua alia perfectior forma quam anima sensibilis. Differunt ergo specie animalia irrationalia secundum diversos gradus determinatos naturæ sensitivæ. Et similiter omnes Angeli differunt specie secundum diversos gradus naturæ intellectivæ.

"Ad secundum dicendum, quod magis et minus secundum quod causantur ex intentione et remissione unius formæ, non diversificant specie. Sed secundum quod causantur ex formis diversorum graduum, sic diversificant speciem: sicut si dicamus, quod ignis est perfectior ære. Et hoc modo Angeli diversificantur secundum magis et minus. Ad tertium dicendum quod bonum speciei præponderat bono individui. Unde multo melius est quod multiplicentur species in Angelis, quam quod multiplicentur individua in unâ specie. Ad quartum dicendum, quod multiplicatio secundum numerum cum in infinitum protendi possit, non intenditur ab agenti, sed sola multiplicatio secundum speciei ut supra dictum est. Unde perfectio naturæ Angelicæ requirit multiplicationem specierum, non autem multiplicationem individuorum in unâ specie." —S. Thom. Aquin. *Summa Totius Theologiæ*, pars i. p. 97.

NOTE (X.)

These facts appear from a letter of Lord Conway's, dated June 15, 1658, of which the following is an extract. It is addressed to Major George Rawdon, who had married his sister, and who, from his residence and influence in Ireland, might materially contribute to the fulfilment of Lord Conway's wishes. It should seem that Major Rawdon had, in answer to a previous application, given a discouraging account of the state of the country.

"Dear Brother,

"That which you writ me in your letter of the 2d of this month, concerning Dr. Taylor, was sufficient to have discouraged him and all his friends from any further thoughts of that country; but I thank God, I went upon a principle not to be repented of, for I had no interest or passion in what I did for him, but rather some reluctancy. What I pursued was, to do an act of piety towards him, and an act of piety towards all such as are truly disposed to virtue in those parts,

for I am certain he is the choicest person in England appertaining to the conscience, and, let others blemish him how they please, yet all I have written of him is true. He is a man of excellent parts and an excellent life; but in regard that this is not powerful to purchase his quiet, I shall tell you what is done in relation to that. Dr. Petty hath written by him to Dr. Harrison and several others, and promist to provide him a purchase of land, at great advantage, and many other intimate kindnesses, wherein your advice will be askt. Dr. Cox, a physician, and a very ingenious man, who hath married the chancellor's sister, hath written on his behalf very passionately, and some of as near relation to my Lord Peepes hath recommended him to him. Serjeant Twisden, one of the eminentest lawyers in England, who married Sir Matthew Tomlinson's sister, hath written to him very earnestly, and so hath his wife also. Mr. Hall, an understanding man, and always one of the knights for Lincolnshire, hath recommended him to his friend Mr. Bury, and so hath Mr. Bacon, one of the masters of request, done for him to my Lord Chief Baron. But, besides all this, my Lord Protector hath given him a pass and a protection for himself and his family, under his sign manual and privy signet. So that I hope it will not be treason to look upon him and to own him. Dr. Loftus is his friend. I have sent you and my sister a box of pills, by Dr. Taylor, of the same proportion as that I sent last summer.

Your affectionate brother,

"Kensington, June 15, 1658." "E. CONWAY."

NOTE (Y.)

Edwards, in his Gangræna, speaks of the Perfectists or Perfectionists in the same category with the most detested heretics of his time. "All the sects, *yea, the worst of them,* as the Antiscripturists, Arians, Anti-trinitarians, *Perfectists,* being Independents and Separatists." The Dr. Gell, who appears to have favoured them, was, probably, "Robert Gell, D.D. of Pampisford in Cambridgeshire, Rector of St. Mary, Aldermary, and sometime chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury, which doctor died in the very beginning of

the year, (twenty-fifth March or thereabouts), 1665."—*Athenæ Oxon.* vol. iii. col. 562.

NOTE (Z.)

" I received a letter yesterday from Dr. Taylor: it hath almost broke my heart. Mr. Tandy hath exhibited articles against him to the lord deputy and council, so simple, (as colonel Hill writes,) that it is impossible it should come to any thing: the greatest scandal being, that he christened Mr. Bryer's child with the sign of the cross. I have written to Hyrne to supply him with money for his vindication, as if it were my own business. I hope, therefore, when you come over, you will take him [Tandy] off from persecuting me, since none knows better than yourself whether I deserve the same at his hands. I would have sent you the Doctor's letter to me, but that I know not whether this will ever come to you. The quarrel is, it seems, because he thinks Dr. Taylor more welcome to Hillsborough than himself.

" Kensington, June 14, 1659." " E. CONWAY."

To this same conduct of Tandy's Lord Conway elsewhere alludes with a similar resentment: " Mr. Tandy may have enough of these [Anabaptists and Quakers] to set himself against, without troubling his peaceable and best neighbours."—RAWDON *Papers*, p. 199.

NOTE (AA.)

The first work to which Taylor alludes is " St. Chrysostom's Golden Book for the Education of Children, out of the Greeke." 1659. 12mo. The other work alluded to must have been in MS., since I cannot find that Evelyn ever published any account of his travels. The authors of the Biographia Britannica, (vol. v. p. 610,) say, " It is much to be regretted that a work so entertaining as the history of his travels would have been, appeared, even to so indefatigable a person as he was, a task too laborious for him to undertake: for we should there have seen clearly, and in a true light, many things in reference to Italy which are now very indistinctly and partially represented; and we

should have also met with much new matter never touched before, and of which we shall now, probably, never hear at all."

NOTE (BB.)

This was Thomas Piers, or Pierce, first fellow of Magdalen, afterwards rector of Brington, in Northamptonshire, then president of his own College, and lastly dean of Salisbury. He is described by Wood as " a person well read in authors, whether civil or prophane, of a florid style, a zealous son of the church of England, though originally a Calvinist; but, above all, a most excellent preacher, whether in the English or the Latin tongue."—Wood, *Athen.* vol. iv. p. 299. The particular works alluded to by Taylor are, 1. " An Additional Advertisement of Mr. Baxter's Book, entitled the Grotian Religion discovered, &c." printed in the same volume with " Self-Condemnation exemplified in Mr. Whitfield, Mr. Barlee, and Mr. Hickman; with occasional Reflections on Calvin, Beza, Zuinglius, Piscator, Rivet, and Bullock; but more especially on Dr. W. Twisse and Mr. T. Hobbes." Lond. 1650. quarto. 2. " The New Discoverer discovered; by way of Answer to Mr. Baxter his pretended Discovery of the Grotian Religion, with the several Subjects therein contained. Lond. 1659. quarto." Pierce seems to have been a pungent and caustic writer, well read in the Quinquarticular controversy, and fearless in the defence of the Church of England, even during her time of greatest depression. He must, however, have, in some degree, complied with the ruling powers, since he held his living unmolested during the whole of the Civil War and the Usurpation.

NOTE (CC.)

" Herbert Thorndyke, prebend of Westminster, and sometimes fellow of Trin. Coll., in Cambridge," died in July 1672. He is mentioned by Wood, Athen. vol. ii. p. 302 and 4. But of his literary labours I know nothing; nor, from Taylor's estimate, do they seem worth much inquiry.

NOTE (DD.)

For a beautiful "Prayer, to be said by Debtors and all Persons, obliged whether by Crime or Contract," see the "Holy Living," vol. vi. p. 177. It contains many expressions which prove it to have been in frequent use with Taylor himself, and to have been prompted by the necessities of his own condition.

NOTE (EE.)

Extract from the Oliverian Minutes of the Year 1659 : *Record Tower, Dublin Castle.*

"Dr. Taylor.

"Ordered,

"That Lt. Coll. Bryan Smyth Governor of Carrickfergus do forthwith upon sight hereof cause the body of Dr. Jeremiah Taylor to be sent up to Dublin under safe custody, to the end he may make his personall appearance before the said Com^rs. to answer unto such things as shall be objected ag^t him in behalf of the Com'onwealth. Dated att Dublin ye 11th of August 1659.

"Signed, THO HERBERT, Secr."

NOTE (FF.)

These troubles were the rising of Sir George Booth and the gentry of Cheshire and the neighbouring counties, after the death of Cromwell, in July 1659. The usual way between London and Ireland was thus rendered impassable, and the severities which were exercised on the loyalists after their defeat were likely to render men unwilling to become the bearers of any communication with a person of such known political principles as Jeremy Taylor. — See HUME, vol. vii. pp. 300, 301, 302.

NOTE (GG.)

The works here alluded to are, 1st. Evelyn's "Apology for the Royal Party, written in a Letter to a Person in the

late Council of State; with a Touch at the pretended Plea of the Army. London, 1659. quarto; and "Elysium Britannicum," a projected Treatise on Gardening, in three books, which was never completed.—See EVELYN's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 90.

NOTE (HH.)

"Here I cannot but instance two acts of the Presbyterians, by which, if their humour and spirit were not enough discovered and known, their want of ingenuity and integrity would be manifest; and how impossible it is for men, who would not be deceived, to depend on either. When the declaration had been delivered to the ministers, there was a clause in it, in which the king declared "his own constant practice of the Common Prayer," and that he would take it well from those who used it in their churches, that the common people might be again acquainted with the piety, gravity, and devotion of it, and which he thought would facilitate their living in a good neighbourhood together, or words to that effect. When they had considered the whole some days, Mr. Calamy, and some other ministers deputed by the rest, came to the chancellor to redeliver it into his hands. They acknowledged 'the king had been very gracious to them in his concessions; though he had not granted all that some of their brethren wished, yet they were contented; only desired him that 'he would prevail with the king that the clause mentioned before might be left out; which'—they protested, 'was moved by them for the king's own end; and that they might show their obedience to him, and resolution to do him service. For they were resolved themselves to do what the king wished, and first to reconcile the people, who for near twenty years had not been acquainted with that form, by informing them, that it contained much piety and devotion, and might be lawfully used; and then, that they would begin to use it themselves, and by degrees accustom the people to it. Which,' they said, 'would have a better effect than if the clause were in the declaration; for they should be thought in their persuasions to comply only with the king's declaration, and to merit from his majesty, and not to be moved

from the conscience of the duty: and so they should take that occasion to manifest their zeal to please the king. And they feared there would other ill consequences from it, by the waywardness of the common people, who were to be treated with skill, and would not be prevailed upon all at once.' The king was to be present the next morning, to hear the declaration read the last time before both parties; and then the chancellor told him, in the presence of all the rest, what the ministers had desired, which they again enlarged upon, with the same protestations of their resolutions, in such a manner that his majesty believed they meant honestly, and the clause was left out. But the declaration was no sooner published, than, observing that the people were generally satisfied with it, they sent their emissaries abroad; and many of their letters were intercepted, and particularly a letter from Mr. Calamy to a leading minister in Somersetshire, whereby he advised and intreated him, 'that he and his friends would continue and persist in the use of *the Directory*, and by no means admit the Common Prayer in their churches; for that he made no question but that they should prevail further with the king than he had yet consented to in his declaration.'"

"The other instance was, that, as soon as the declaration was printed, the king received a petition in the name of the ministers of London and many others, of the same opinion with them, who had subscribed that petition, amongst whom none of those who had attended the king in those conferences had their names. They gave his majesty humble thanks 'for the grace he had vouchsafed to show in his declaration, which they received as an earnest of his future goodness and condescension in granting all those other concessions which were absolutely necessary for the liberty of their conscience;' and desired, with importunity and ill manners, 'that the wearing the surplice, and the using the cross in baptism, might be absolutely abolished out of the church, as being scandalous to all men of tender consciences.' From these two instances, all men may conclude that nothing but a severe execution of the law can prevail upon that classis of men to conform to government."
CLARENDON'S *Life*, pp. 75, 76.

I certainly do not consider Clarendon's inference as an accurate one. The duplicity or bigotry of a few leading individuals can be no good argument against using all just and reasonable means to conciliate a numerous and powerful party, the majority of whom must be, like other men, to be subdued by kindness, and satisfied when their complaints are attended to. Nor is there any method so likely to destroy the consequence of the obnoxious individuals themselves, as a removal of the real or imaginary grievances which constitute the strength of their cause, and supply them with arms against the government. But we know how much mankind are, even in spite of themselves, deterred from a perseverance in conciliatory measures by the unthankful manner in which those measures are received: nor have they, who will make no concessions, any right to complain that they do not obtain fresh privileges.

NOTE (II.)

The inscription on the communion plate is as follows:

"In Ministerium SS. Mysteriorum
In Ecclesia Christi Redemptoris
De Dromore.
Deo dedit humillima Domina
Ancilla D. Joanna Taylor."

BONNEY, p. 323.

Here, it will be observed, the lady is called Joanna, without any distinctive mark; but as Mrs. Taylor herself bore that name, she is more likely to have been the giver than her daughter: more particularly since Joanna, the daughter, had two elder sisters, and can have been little more than a child at this time. Mrs. Taylor was also an heiress, so that she may well have retained some portion of her property in her own hands, so as to make the present really hers.

NOTE (JJ.)

"At Michaelmas, 1662, Francis Taverner, about twenty-five years old, a lusty proper stout fellow, then servant at large, (afterwards porter,) to the Lord Chichester, Earl of Donegal, at Belfast in the north of Ireland, county of Antrim, and

diocese of Connor, riding late in the night from Hilbrough homeward, near Drum Bridge, his horse, though of good metal, suddenly made a stand; and he, supposing him to be taken with the staggers, alighted to bloud him in the mouth, and presently mounted again. As he was setting forward, there seemed to pass by him two horsemen, though he could not hear the treading of their feet, which amazed him. Presently there appeared a third in a white coat, just at his elbow, in the likeness of James Haddock, formerly an inhabitant in Malone, where he died near five years before. Whereupon Taverner asked him in the name of God who he was? He replied, 'I am James Haddock, and you may call to mind by this token: that about five years ago, I and two other friends were at your father's house, and you, by your father's appointment, brought us some nuts; and therefore be not afraid,' says the apparition. Whereupon Taverner, remembering the circumstances, thought it might be Haddock; and those two, who passed by before him, he thought to be his two friends with him when he gave them nuts, and courageously asked him why he appeared to him rather than any other. He answered, because he was a man of more resolution than others: and if he would ride his way with him, he would acquaint him with a business he had to deliver him, which Taverner refused to do, and would go his own way (for they were now at a quadrivial), and so rode on homewards. But immediately on their departure there arose a great wind, and withal he heard very hideous screeches and noises, to his great amazement; but riding forward as fast as he could, he at last heard the cocks crow to his comfort; he alighted from his horse, and falling to prayer, desired God's assistance, and so got safe home.

"The night after there appeared again to him the likeness of James Haddock, and bid him go to Elenor Welsh (now the wife of Davis, living at Malone, but formerly the wife of the said James Haddock, by whom she had an onely son, to whom the said James Haddock had by his will given a lease, which he held of the Lord Chichester, of which the son was deprived by Davis, who had married his mother,) and to ask her if her maiden name was not Elenor Welsh; and if it were, to tell her, that it was the will of her former husband

James Haddock that their son should be righted in the lease. But Taverner, partly loath to gain the ill will of his neighbours, and partly thinking he should not be credited but looked on as deluded, long neglected to do his message; till having been every night for about a month's space haunted with this apparition in several forms, every night more and more terrible, (which was usually preceded by an unusual trembling over his whole body, and great change of countenance manifest to his wife, in whose presence frequently the apparition was, though not visible to her;) at length he went to Malone to Davis's wife, and askt whether her maiden name was not Elenor Welch; if it was, he had something to say to her. She replied, there was another Elenor Welch besides her. Hereupon Taverner returned without delivering his message. The same night, being fast asleep in his bed, (for the former apparitions were as he sate by the fire with his wife,) by something pressing upon him he was awakened, and saw again the apparition of James Haddock in a white coat as at other times, who asked him if he had delivered his message? He answered, he had been there with Elenor Welch. Upon which, the apparition looking more pleasantly upon him, bid him not be afraid, and so vanished in a flash of brightness. But some nights after, (he having not delivered his message,) he came again, and appearing in many formidable shapes, threatened to tear him in pieces if he did not do it. This made him leave his house, where he dwelt in the mountains, and betake himself to the town of Belfast, where he sate up all night at one Pierce's house, a shoemaker, accompanied with the said Pierce and a servant or two of the Lord Chichester, who were desirous to hear or see the spirit. About midnight, as they were all by the fire-side, they beheld Taverner's countenance to change, and a trembling to fall on him, who presently espyed the apparition in a room opposite to him where he sate, and took up the candle and went to it, and resolutely asked him in the name of God wherefore it haunted him? It replied, because he had not delivered the message, and withal threatened to tear him in pieces if he did not do it speedily; and so changing itself into many prodigious shapes, it vanisht in white like a ghost. Whereupon Francis Taverner became much dejected and troubled, and next day went to the Lord Chichester's house, and with tears in

his eyes related to some of the family the sadness of his condition. They told it to my Lord's chaplain, Mr. James South, who came presently to Taverner, and being acquainted of his whole story, advised him to go this present time to Malone to deliver punctually his message, and promised to go along with him. But first they went to Dr. Lewis Downs, then minister of Belfast, who, upon hearing the relation of the whole matter, doubted at first the truth of it, attributing it rather to melancholy than any thing of reality. But being afterwards fully satisfied of it, the only scruple remaining was, whether it might be lawful to go on such a business, not knowing whose errand it was; since, though it was a real apparition of some spirit, yet it was questionable whether of a good or a bad spirit. Yet the justice of the cause, (it being the common report the youth was wronged,) and other considerations prevailing, he went with them. So they three went to Davis's house, where the woman being desired to come to them, Taverner did effectually do his message, by telling her, that he could not be at quiet for the ghost of her former husband James Haddock, who threatened to tear him in pieces if he did not tell her she must right John Haddock, her son by him, in a lease wherein she and Davis, her now husband, had wronged him. This done, he presently found great quietness in his mind; and, thanking the gentlemen for their company, advice, and assistance, he departed thence to his brother's house at Drum Bridge; where, about two nights after, the aforesaid apparition came to him again, and, more pleasantly than formerly, askt if he had delivered his message? He answered, he had done it fully. It replied, that he must do the message to the executors also, that the business might be perfected. At this meeting, Taverner asked the spirit if Davis would do him any hurt; to which it answered at first somewhat doubtfully; but at length threatened Davis, if he attempted any thing to the injury of Taverner, and so vanisht away in white.

"The day following, Dr. Jeremie Taylor, Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore, was to go to keep court at Dromore, and commanded me, who was then secretary to him, to write for Taverner to meet him there, which he did. And there, in the presence of many, he examined Taverner strictly in this strange scene of Providence, as my Lord

stil'd it; and by the account given him, both by Taverner and others who knew Taverner, and much of the former particulars, his Lordship was satisfied that the apparition was true and real; but said no more there to him, because at Hilbrough, three miles from thence on his way home, my Lord was informed that my Lady Conway and other persons of quality were coming purposely to hear his Lordship examine the matter. So Taverner went with us to Hilbrough; and there, to satisfy the curiosity of the fresh company, after asking many things anew, and some over again, my Lord advised him, the next time the spirit appeared, to ask him these questions: "Whence are you? Are you a good or a bad spirit? Where is your abode? What station do you hold? How are you regimented in the other world? And what is the reason that you appear for the relief of your son in so small a matter, when so many widows and orphans are oppressed in the world, being defrauded of greater matters, and none from thence of their relations appear, as you do, to right them?"

"That night Taverner was sent for to Lisburne, to my Lord Conway's, three miles from Hilbrough, on his way home to Belfast, where he was again strictly examined in the presence of many good men and women of the aforesaid matter, who was ordered to lie at my Lord Conway's all night; and about nine or ten o'clock at night, standing by the fire-side with his brother and many others, his countenance changed, and he fell into a trembling, the usual prognostic of the apparition; and being loath to make any disturbance in his lordship's house, he and his brother went out into the court, where he saw the spirit coming over the wall; which approaching nearer, askt him if he had done his message to the executors also? He replied he had, and wondered it should still haunt him. It replied, he need not fear, for it would do him no hurt, nor trouble him any more, but the executors, if he did not see the boy righted. Here his brother put him in mind to ask the spirit what the bishop bid him, which he did presently. But it gave him no answer, but crawled on its hands and feet over the wall again, and so vanisht in white, with a most melodious harmony.

"Note (1) That Pierce, at whose house, and in whose presence the apparition was, being askt whether he saw the spirit, said he did not, but thought at that time he had a

miet all over his eyes. (2) What was then spoke to Taverner was in so low and hollow a voice, that they could not understand what it said. (3) At Pierce's house it stood just in the entry of a door, and as a maid passed by to go in at the door, Taverner saw it go aside and give way to the maid, though she saw it not. (4) That the lease was hereupon disposed to the boy's use. (5) The spirit, at the last appearing at my Lord Conway's house, revealed somewhat to Taverner, which he would not discover to any of us that askt him.

" This Taverner, with all the persons and places mentioned in the story, I knew very well, and all wise and good men did believe it, especially the bishop, and dean of Connor, Dr. Rust.

" Witness your humble servant,

" THOMAS ALCOCK."

" David Hunter, neat-herd, at the bishop's house at Portmore; there appeared to him one night, carrying a log of wood into the dairy, an old woman, which amazed him, for he knew her not; but the fright made him throw away his log of wood, and run into the house. The next night she appeared again to him, and he could not chuse but follow her all night, and so almost every night for near three quarters of a year. Whenever she came, he must go with her through the woods at a good round rate, and the poor fellow looked as if he was bewitched, and travelled off his legs. And when in bed with his wife, if she appeared, he must rise and go. And because his wife could not hold him in his bed, she would go too, and walk after him till day, though she see nothing. But his little dog was so well acquainted with the apparition, that he would follow her as well as his master. If a tree stood in her walk, he observed her always to go through it. In all this while she spoke not.

" But one day the said David going over a hedge into the high-way, she came just against him; and he cryed out, ' Lord bless me! would I was dead; shall I never be delivered from this misery?' At which—' And the Lord bless me too,' says she; ' It was very happy you spake first, for till then I had no power to speak, though I have followed you so long.'—' My name,' says she, ' is Margaret ——. I lived here before the war, and had one son by my husband.

When he died I married a soldier, by whom I had several children, which that former son maintained, else we must have all starved. He lives beyond the Baun Water; pray go to him, and bid him dig under such a hearth, and there he shall find 28s. Let him pay what I owe in such a place, and the rest to the charge unpaid at my funeral; and go to my son that lives here, which I had by my latter husband, and tell him that he lives a wicked and a dissolute life, and is very unnatural and ungrateful to his brother that maintained him; and if he does not mend his life, God Almighty will destroy him.'

"David Hunter told her, he never knew her. 'No,' says she; 'I died seven years before you came into the country.' But for all that, if he would do her message, she should never hurt him. But he deferred doing as the apparition bid him; and she appeared the night after as he lay in bed, and struck him on the shoulder very hard; at which he cryed out, and asked her if she did not promise she would not hurt him. She said, that was if he did her message; if not, she would kill him. He told her, he could not go now, by reason the waters were out. She said, she was content he should stay till they were abated; but charged him afterwards not to fail her. So he did her errand, and afterwards she appeared and gave him thanks. 'For now,' said she, 'I shall be at rest; therefore pray you lift me up from the ground, and I will trouble you no more.' So David Hunter lifted her up from the ground, and, as he said, she felt just like a bag of feathers in his arms. So she vanished, and he heard most delicate musick as she went off, over his head; and he never was more troubled.

"This account the poor fellow gave us every day as the apparition spoke to him; and my Lady Conway came to Portmore, where she asked the fellow the same questions, and many more. This I know to be true, being all the while with my Lord of Downe, and the fellow but a poor neatherd there.

"THOMAS ALCOCK."

GLANVILL'S *Sadducismus Triumphatus; edited by More.* Lond. 1682. pp. 243—253.

" I cannot but animadvert upon what is here expressed concerning the questions which the bishop would needs have propounded to and resolved by this spectre. I am persuaded that the apostle Paul, who speaks of man's *intruding into those things which he hath not seen*, Col. ii. 18, would hardly have given such counsel as the bishop did. One of his questions, (viz. Are you a good or a bad spirit?) seems to be a needless and impertinent inquiry; for good angels never appear in the shape of dead men, but evil and wicked spirits have oftentimes done so. His other queries savour too much of vain curiosity: they bring to mind what is by that great historian Thuanus, (lib. 130, p. 1136,) reported concerning Peter Cotton, the Jesuit; who, having a great desire to be satisfied about some questions which no man living could resolve him in, he applied himself to a maid who was possessed with a devil, charging the spirit in her to resolve his proposals. Some of which were *of this world*; e g. he desired the devil, if he could, to tell him when Calvinism would be extinguished; and what would be the most effectual means to turn the kingdom of England from the Protestant to the Popish religion? What would be the issue of the wars and great designs then on foot in the world? — Other of his inquiries respected the *old world;* e. g. How Noah could take the living creatures that were brought into the ark? Who those sons of God were that loved the daughters of men? Whether serpents went upon feet before Adam's fall? &c. Some of his questions respected the *other world.* He would have the spirit resolve him, How long the fallen angels were in heaven before they were cast out from thence? And what is the most evident place in the Scripture to prove that there is a purgatory? Who are the seven spirits that stand before the throne of God? Who is the king of the archangels? Where Paradise is? Now let the reader judge whether Dr. Taylor's questions, when he would have the spirit resolve him, Where is your abode? What station do you hold? How are you regimented in the other world? &c. be not as curious as some of the Jesuit's. Wise men thought it tended much to the disreputation of Peter Cotton; when, through his incognitant leaving the book wherein his inquiries of the dæmon were written, with a friend, the matter came to

be divulged. I cannot think that Dr. Taylor's secretary, his publishing these curiosities of his Lord, hath added much to his credit among sound and judicious persons. There is a tragical passage related in the story of the dæmon, which for three months molested the house of Mr. Perreaud, a Protestant minister in Matiscon. One in the room would needs be propounding needless questions for the devil to answer, though Mr. Perreaud told him of the danger in it. After a deal of discourse, the devil said unto him, 'You should have hearkened to the minister's good counsel, who told you, that you ought not to ask curious questions of the devil; yet you would do it, and now I must school you for your pains.' Presently upon which the man was, by an invisible hand, plucked up by his thumb, and twirled round and thrown down upon the floor, and so continued in most grievous misery. I hope, then, that none will be emboldened from the bishop's advice, to inquire at the mouth of devils, or of apparitions, until such time as they know whether they are devils or no."—INCREASE MATHER'S *Diary for the Recording of Illustrious Providences.* 12mo. Boston, 1684. pp. 223—229.

Mather does not seem to have perceived (indeed, if he had, it would not have diminished his displeasure,) the drift and object of that sort of cross-examination to which Taylor wished to subject the apparition, nor that it was intended merely to perplex and expose the person who, as he suspected, played the part of spectre. It is singular that the practice, so usual with the Romish exorcists, of asking strange and curious questions of exorcised persons, "cunningly to get out of the devil, the confession of some article of faith, for the edification of the standers-by,"—is exposed by Taylor himself, in one of his controversial works, in a strain of powerful satire, which will well repay the reader who may refer to it. Mather, who was a steady and most intolerant believer in the reality of such visitations, and who trusted in exorcisms as implicitly as Peter Cotton, the Jesuit, (provided only those exorcisms were after the model of the directory, and uttered by a minister in a black cloak instead of a cope and surplice,) would have thought his wit, indeed, grievously out of place; but even Mather himself would have had some difficulty in answering satis-

factorily the decision with which he winds up his pleasantries.

"The casting out of devils is a miraculous power, and given at first for the confirmation of Christian faith, as the gifts of tongues and healing were; and, therefore, we have reason to believe, that because it is not an ordinary power, the ordinary exorcisms cast out no more devils than extreme unction cures sicknesses. We do not envy to any one any grace of God, but wish it were more modestly pretended, unless it could be more evidently proved. Origen condemned this whole procedure of conjuring devils long since: and St. Chrysostom spake soberly and truly, We poor wretches cannot drive away the flies, much less devils." —*Dissuasive from Popery*, vol. x. pp. 237—238.

NOTE (KK.)

That his health was broken appears by the anxiety expressed by Lord Conway, (who was a steady believer in the wonderful cures effected by Valentine Greatraiks,) that this singular person should be admitted to operate upon him. "I had a letter also from my brother Francis. I am confident Mr. Greatrix would recover him or *the bishop of Down*, for I do pretty well know what distempers he can cure, and what he cannot cure."—RAWDON *Papers*, p. 214. Of Mr. Greatraiks and his miracles, a strange account is given in a letter from Taylor's friend, Dean Rust, to the learned and pious, but superstitious Glanvill; *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, pp. 81—83. See also Henry More's Scholia on sect. 58. of his Enthusiasmus Triumphatus, and "A brief Account of Mr. Valentine Greatraks, and divers of the strange Cures by him lately performed, in a letter addressed to the Hon. Boyle." London, 1666. The strangest part of the story is the good character and good sense of Greatraiks, who seems to have given no symptoms either of enthusiasm or imposture, and who, though he demanded £155. for his journey into England, to try his powers on the Lady Conway, (RAWDON *Papers*, p. 207.) in general accepted no reward for the benefits which he conferred. After all, in an age of metallic tractors and animal magnetism, we have no right

to wonder at the credulity of our grandfathers and grandmothers.

NOTE (LL.)

It is my duty to acknowledge that this part of lady Wray's statement is clogged with many difficulties, not unlikely, perhaps, to occur in the narrative of a person, who, at an advanced age, gives details of events which happened before she was born, but which prevent our receiving all the circumstances which she relates with unhesitating assent. Thus, she calls the officer who was killed in a duel, "her uncle *Edward*;" and says, that the duel took place at "Oxford." But, if a duel so remarkable had occurred at Oxford, it is almost certain that Anthony Wood would have taken some notice of it. And, further, it appears from the Register, that Edward Taylor, son of the bishop, was buried not at Oxford, but at Lisburn, in March, 1661,—too soon to make it probable that he could have attained the rank of captain in the guards, inasmuch as, at that time, the government were rather occupied in disbanding the old army than in raising or new modelling another. It is, therefore, most reasonable to apprehend that she had confounded names and dates, and given an erroneous version of a story which might well be true in the main, though it neither happened at the place, nor to the person whom she supposed. A similar mistake occurs in her account of her uncle Charles, whom she asserts to have taken a master's degree in the university of Dublin. This, I have ascertained, he certainly never did. But, though I cannot place implicit confidence in the circumstances of her story, I cannot think myself justified in withholding all credence from it, since it is, after all, as good authority as can generally be expected in cases of family tradition.

NOTE (MM.)

"Feb. 24, 1680. To the Royal Society, where I met an Irish bishop and his lady, who was daughter to my worthy and pious friend, Dr. Jeremy Taylor, late bishop of Down and Connor. They came to see the Repository; she seemed to be a knowing woman, beyond the ordinary talent of her sex."—Evelyn *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 217.

NOTE (NN.)

The son of archbishop Marsh, by Mary Taylor, was afterwards dean of Down; but I have been able to discover nothing more concerning him, except that he also had a son who left five children; 1. Francis, still living, and father of a numerous family, who is in possession of bishop Taylor's watch, given him by king Charles; 2. Robert, in holy orders, and living in 1817; 3. Digby, also in orders, and fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, who died August 12, 1791; 4. Jeremy, also deceased, who had the original of the picture whence Mr. Bonney's print is taken; and 5. a daughter, married to Mr. Simon Digby, and living in 1817.

Of Digby, the third son, the following character appeared at the time of his death, in the public papers. For it, as well as all the preceding particulars concerning the Marsh family, I am indebted to Mr. Bonney's MS. Dr. Marsh, I can believe to have been not unworthy of such an ancestor as Jeremy Taylor, though, probably, he himself, and, certainly, his great-great-grandfather would have been surprised at some of those peculiar flowers of eloquence which distinguish the eulogium before us.

"On Friday last, (August 12, 1791,) died at his chambers in the College, (Dublin), of a severe indisposition, which he bore with becoming fortitude and resignation, the Rev. Digby Marsh, D.D., senior fellow of Trinity College, professor of modern history, register [registrar] of the university, and member of the Royal Irish Academy.

"Whether we consider the elevation of his mind, the strength of his talents, or the number of his virtues, we cannot hesitate to pronounce him among the first characters of which the university, or, perhaps, the nation, could boast.

"Calm, deliberate, and reserved—his calmness was fortitude, his deliberation wisdom, his reserve modesty.

"That magnanimity which raised him above the reach of passion, gave to every action of his life decision and intrepidity; and, whilst he seemed slow in deciding, he was retarded not by the dulness of conception, but by the range of his sagacity and the comprehension of his views.

"The austerity of his deportment, the effect not of pride, but of constitution, was softened into affability by a native

gentleness and benevolence which could not be disguised; and through a severity of manner, perhaps, not ill-suited to the serious dignity of his mind, beamed the mildest effusions of a generous and feeling heart.

"His affections were not easily excited; but they were strong, steady, and permanent; and whilst he scorned to make *professions* of regard, his actions proved him a sincere and disinterested friend.

"Noble and elevated in his sentiments, he has left behind him a character unsullied by a single mean or dishonourable act.

"Nor, indeed, was it possible that a man, the independence of whose virtue rested upon itself, and, far from courting, rather shunned applause, could have deviated from the strict path which honour and conscience prescribe. Endowed with singular powers of understanding, he sought not their display.

"His genius was too proud to stoop to fame; too modest to hope for it. But the gratitude of that place which has been enriched by his talents and improved by his virtues, will pay to his memory that tribute of admiration and praise, which the diffidence that ever attends real abilities would have prevented him from accepting in his life.

"The governors of Trinity College unanimously resolved, that the late much-lamented Dr. Marsh should be interred in the College Chapel, with all academical honours, and with every mark of respect that could testify their just sense of his superior merit. But Dr. Marsh's family declined the offer, with many expressions of thankfulness for the honour intended their relation, whom they rather chose should be buried privately in their own family vault."

Of Joanna Taylor, and her descendants, the following account is taken from Mr. Todd Jones's MSS. and information furnished by his surviving sisters. Joanna, it will be recollected, was married to Edward Harrison, of Maralave, esquire, member of parliament for Lisburn. By him she had four sons and two daughters: 1. Michael Harrison, muster-master-general of Ireland, and master of the staple in that kingdom, which he inherited from his grandfather, to whom it was granted by Charles the Second. The illuminated patent is yet in the possession of the family, but its

privileges were taken away in the 12th year of king William. He represented Belfast in the Irish parliament, and died young without issue. 2. Jeremiah Taylor Harrison, commissary-general of Ireland, and member of parliament for Knocktopher. Of all the grandchildren of bishop Taylor, this his namesake was accounted to bear the strongest resemblance to him in person, countenance, and disposition; but, being a Whig, he has fallen under the lash of Swift in the "Legion Club." It is, perhaps, singular that Taylor's descendants should have been Whigs; but still more so that the one who most resembled him should be so handed down to posterity by the pen of a malicious satirist.

> "There sit Clements, Dilkes, and *Harrison;*
> How they swagger from their garrison;
> Such a triplet could you tell
> Where to find on this side hell?
> Harrison, and Dilkes, and Clements,
> Keeper, see they have their payments!
> Every mischief's in their hearts;
> If they fail, 'tis want of parts!"

He married Mary, daughter of the secretary Vernon, and sister to the admiral of the same name, and died at Brook Hill, near Lisburn, also without issue. 3. Francis Harrison, representative for the county of Carlow, who inhabited the property of both his brothers, which he largely increased by an advantageous purchase from the crown of the estates of Castlemartin, forfeited by Sir Maurice Eustace, late lord chancellor of Ireland, under king James. In 1724 he became a partner in a banking-house at Dublin, then esteemed the most flourishing in the British islands. In 1729, however, Mr. Harrison dying suddenly, intestate, and with the whole of his property unsettled, the affairs of the bank became greatly involved, and a burden, for which he was extremely ill fitted, devolved, on, 4. his youngest brother, Marsh Harrison, captain in the army, a weak and dissipated man, who died soon after, a victim to various excesses. The bank failed, and a great part of the Harrison estates were involved in the ruin. A considerable surplus, however, remained to, 5. Mary, the survivor of the whole family; married, first, to colonel Francis Columbine, by whom she had two daughters; Frances, married to William Todd, esq.,

and Harrison, married to Sir Christopher Hales, of Lincolnshire. After colonel Columbine's death, his widow again married Sir Cecil Wray, of Summer Castle and Brampstone, in Lincolnshire. By him she had another daughter, Albina Casey, who, in 1730, married lord Vere Bertie, second son of Robert, duke of Ancaster. — 6. The sixth of bishop Taylor's grandchildren, was Anne, who married colonel John Pacey, secretary to the duke of Ormond, and died without children.

Lady Wray, whose letter to her son-in-law has been so frequently quoted, gave up, during her life-time, to her daughter Frances Todd, the greater part of the Irish property. The children of the above Frances and William Todd were, 1. Frances, married to Philip Boyer, esq. 2. Joanna, widow to major Hunt of the 12th dragoons, still living in 1819, and, at the age of ninety-five, in possession of all her faculties. 3. Mary Wray, married to Conway Jones, M.D., by whom she had, 1. William Todd Jones, of Homra, esq., representative for the borough of Lisburn, who died unmarried, at Rosstrevor, February 14, 1818, aged 63, in consequence of the overturn of a carriage. Of his distinguished talents, and his intention, during the latter years of his life, to undertake that task which I have now imperfectly accomplished, I have already had occasion to take notice, as well as of the unfortunate fate which attended those family documents which, had they remained in his hands, might have furnished, from bishop Taylor's own pen, the best picture of his private character and history. 2. Edward Jones, esq., solicitor-general to the state of North Carolina, where he is now living, married, and with a numerous family. 3. Frances, married to Joseph Pollock, esq., by whom she had several children. 4. Mary, living unmarried. 5. Anne, married to lieut.-colonel John de Berniere, 18th regiment of foot; has a large family, and resides with a married daughter, near Charleston, in South Carolina. 5. Charlotte, widow of lieut.-colonel Henry Wray, of the Bengal establishment. 6. Catherine, married Robert Pepes Ormsby, esq., and died without issue in 1805.

Besides the above, I have met with several families in England and Ireland, who claim the honour of being descended from Jeremy Taylor. The families of French, Storey, and Sneyd, of the counties of Kildare and Cavan,

are said to be connected with his line, through his daughter Mary; and a similar claim was advanced by the late rev. Mr. Keate, rector of Laverton, in Somersetshire, father of the rev. Dr. Keate of Eton, on behalf of his mother, who was a Lacey, and who is said to have preserved, with reverential care, a copy of the Ἐνιαυτός, which had been a present from the author to her father, who was, as she understood, his grandson. His grandsons, however, Jeremy Taylor, apparently, never saw, certainly not at such an age as would enable them to appreciate his presents. Nor had he any grandson of the name of Lacey. A great grandson of that name he may have had, since the accounts of the Marsh family are so imperfect, and a family tradition of this kind is authority by no means to be despised: since, however inaccurate in some of its details, it must, in all probability, have had a foundation in truth. But the above tradition seems the only remaining ground for such a belief; at least I have been able to trace no other. A letter on the subject was written by Mr. Keate, to the rev. Edward Jones, rector of Uppingham, who communicated it to Mr. Bonney, and I have myself made several inquiries of the late Thomas Keate, esq., of Chelsea Hospital, but without obtaining any additional information.

NOTE (OO.)

The watch has been described as being "plain, and having only a single case, with a gold dial-plate, the figures of which are raised. The hands are of steel, and the maker's name is 'Jacobus Markwich, Londini.' Originally it had no chain, but went by means of catgut. Bishop Taylor caused a second case of copper to be made for it, covered with green velvet, and studded with gold. At the bottom, the studs are so arranged as to represent a mitre, surrounded by this motto, 'Nescitis horam.'" — BONNEY, p. 368.

NOTE (PP.)

"*Case of Lord Conway, Jeremy, Bishop of Down, and Moses Hill, Esq.*

"Monday, March 19, 1665-6.

"In answer to the petition of Moses Hill, esq., it is admitted, that the lands of Castlereagh, formerly belonging

to Francis Hill, esq., who, by fine and other conveyance, did settle them on Randal, brother to the said Francis Hill, and the heirs male of his body, and, for default of such issue, on Edward Hill, the defendant's younger brother, and the heirs male of his body, and for default of such issue, on Arthur Hill, the defendant's father, and the heirs male of his body, who afterwards settled the same on the defendant, subject notwithstanding, and liable to the lease made to the petitioner for seven years, to commence from the death of the said Arthur Hill.

"As to the bishop of Down's receiving his chief rent, due to him, out of part of the premises, the same was done by him in his politick capacity, and in right of his bishoprick, and was not any waver of his possession that he had of the said lands, as one of the said lessees thereof."

"The House agree with the paper."

"Saturday, April 14, 1666.

"Whereas, by order of this House, bearing date the 12th day of this instant April, the cause between the lord viscount Conway, and the lord bishop of Down, members of this House, and Moses Hill, esq., a member of the House of Commons, was this day appointed to be heard, and the time being so far elapsed, that this House could not now proceed to the hearing thereof; it is ordered, that the rents of the lands of Castlereagh, in the county of Down, and other lands now in question, and related to in the petition annexed, be sequestered and retained in the hands of the particular ter-tenants, until the further order of this House; and that the said rents be, and are hereby sequestered accordingly, and the Sheriff of the said county of Down is hereby required to see this order put in execution." — *Journals of the Irish House of Lords*, vol. i. p. 409.

This contest, in its progress, brought on a misunderstanding between the two Houses of Parliament, in which the Commons claimed the right of sitting at the conference. (*Journals*, vol. i. p. 442.) This, on a reference to the lord-lieutenant, was disallowed. It does not appear what became of the bishop's cause. It probably was not settled when the parliament was dissolved. The bishop of Down appears to have been on various committees of the Lords. He, however,

is mentioned two or three times as having obtained leave of absence. — For my knowledge of most of these particulars, I have to thank the hon. and rev. J. C. Talbot, and the rev. the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin.

NOTE (QQ.)

A frightful story of this kind is told of Edward I. of England. I wish it may be only the slander of enemies, whom he had grievously injured, and who were not unlikely to propagate, or believe, any evil of him.

" And when he to the death was near,
The folk that at Kyldrumy were,
Come with prisoners that they had tane;
And syne to the King are gane,
And, for to comfort him, they tauld,
How they the castell to them yauld;
And how they till his will were brought
To do of that whatever he thought;
And asked, " what men should of them do?" —
Then look'd he angrily them to,
And said, grinning, " Hang and draw!" —
That was wonder of sic saw,
That he, that to the death was near,
Should answer upon sic maner,
Foronten moaning, and mercye. —
How might he trust on Him to cry
That dooms soothfastly all things,
To have mercye for his cryings,
Of him that, through his felonie,
Into sic point had no mercye?" — BARBOUR.

NOTE (RR.)

Taylor's appetite for the marvellous may seem to have been sufficiently indiscriminate, when, in the same sentence, he refers, without the least apparent hesitation, to two such monstrous stories as those of the Egyptian Thebes, with its houses of alabaster, spotted with gold, and the city of Quinsay, with fourscore millions of inhabitants It seems, however, to have been the common practice of writers in his time, to assume as facts, for the purposes of argument, any thing which suited their turn, and for which a single authority could be given. I know scarcely any instance in which they have appeared to distinguish

between the weight of different testimonies, or to make any difference in their manner of citing circumstances alleged by writers of different ages. If a fact were found recorded in any ancient historian, they received it without question, how small soever the means of acquiring information which that historian may have possessed, or however great the internal evidence of his credulity or mendacity. In the present instance it never seems to have occurred to Taylor, either that the circumstances related by Clemens and Pomponius Mela were, in themselves, impossible; or that both these writers were too modern to be much better acquainted with the antiquities of Thebes than we ourselves are. Nor did he apparently suspect, what is in all probability the case, a numerical error of Marco Polo's pen, or the pen of his editor, in the monstrous computation which he has given of the burghers of a single city. For *millions*, it is plain we should read *myriads*, in which case the calculation will be perfectly sober and probable.

NOTE (SS.)

" Two forms inseparable in unity
Hath Yamen; even as with hope or fear
The soul regardeth him, doth he appear.
For hope and fear,
At that dread hour, from ominous conscience spring,
And err not in their bodings. — Therefore some,
(They who polluted with offences come,)
Behold him as the king
Of terrors, black of aspect, red of eye,
Reflecting back upon the sinful mind,
Heightened with vengeance and with wrath divine,
Its own inborn deformity.
But to the righteous spirit how benign
His awful countenance,
Where, tempering justice with parental love,
Goodness and heavenly grace,
And sweetest mercy shine! Yet is he still
Himself the same, one form, one face, one will,
And these his twofold aspects are but one;
And change is none
In him, for change in Yamen could not be:—
The Immutable is he!"—

Curse of KEHAMA, Canto xxiii.

NOTE (TT.)

"He [Henry More] had one heroine pupil. The lady Conway, formerly Mrs. Anne Finch, was of incomparable parts and endowments, (there seems indeed a very great mixture of nobleness and ingenuity in the name and blood at this day). Between this excellent person and the doctor, there was, from first to last, a very high friendship. He gives a great character of her in an epistle dedicatory, before his Antidote against Atheism. And I have heard him say, that he scarce ever met with any person, man or woman, of better natural parts than the lady Conway. She was mistress, as I must express it, of the highest theories, whether of philosophy or religion; and had, on all accounts, an extraordinary value and respect for the doctor."—"And as she always wrote a very clear style, so could she argue sometimes, or put to him the deepest and noblest queries imaginable.

"This *incomparable* person (as he was wont to call her) had the misfortune to be exercised from her very youth, with great pains and disorders in her head. Few have been afflicted in so severe and durable a manner as herself was; which yet she bore with admirable Christian patience and piety. Though it is not improbable but these so terrible fits, which oppressed and clouded her so much, might dispose her, by degrees, to a greater inclinableness towards some persons, than her own free reason and entire value for the doctor would otherwise have permitted, which yet he imputed to the height of her virtue, and said, 'It was the greatness of her mind that betrayed her to it: who, looking upon some pretensions of the Quakers to be very excellent (and these imposing upon her judgment,) all the external considerations of her quality, and the world, availed nothing with her, for the hindering of those regards which she shewed towards them.'"—*Life of Dr. H. More*, by R. Ward. Lond. 1710, p. 192.

See also the character of this lady, published under the name of Van Helmont, but written by More, p. 203, of the same work.

The notices which follow, are from the correspondence

of the lady's husband. — There are some among them which, with all our pity for the poor devout sufferer, will almost excite a smile.

"We have had thoughts oftentimes in my wife's sickness, — perhaps she may be breeding; but the excessive increase of her distemper, with many other reasons, so interrupted it, that they served only to torment." — "She hears that my lord Chichester's former lady had got *an eagle's stone*, esteemed of great virtue in hard labour." — "Mr. Hill saw the stone, and hath another, but she prefers it, if it may be had. I would willingly be at the charge of an express messenger, rather than not get it with care and speed." — "My wife had one lent unto her that is much bigger, for she thinks the biggest is accounted the best, and, in pain, wore it upon her arm a good while." — RAWDON *Papers*, pp. 191, 192, 194.

"At Ragley I met nothing but the sad condition of my wife, *whom I could not see, all the while I was there, though I stayed a fortnight*." — p. 219.

"My wife is ill at present. Nobody hath seen her these ten days. *But I suppose it is much after the usual manner*." — p. 241.

This sounds lamentable enough. But though the poor lady did not admit her husband to her apartment, she had abundance of other and more savoury company.

"In my family, all the women about my wife, and most of the rest, are Quakers, and Monsieur Van Helmont is the governour of that flock, an unpleasing sort of people, silent, sullen, and of a reserved conversation." — "These and *all of that society have free access* to my wife, but, I believe Dr. More, though he was in the house all the last summer, did not see her above twice or thrice." — *Ibid.* p. 254.

Of Mr. Greatraikes, and the reliance placed in him, enough has been already said, though many curious and additional circumstances may be found in the same interesting collection.

NOTE (UU.)

To understand the allusion of Athanasius, it is necessary to observe that, in Habakkuk, ii. 11, the words which we

render "the *beam* out of the timber," are in the LXX. translated "the *beetle* out of the timber:" κανθαρος ἐκ ξυλε. On which Athanasius thus observes, Δια τετε εἰπεν ὁ μεγας προφητης ΚΑΙ ΚΑΝΘΑΡΟΣ ΕΚ ΞΥΛΟΥ ΦΘΕΞΕΤΑΙ. Ὁιδατε, ἀδελφοι, ὁτι ὁ κανθαρος περι τα ἀκαθαρτα σχολαζει, ἀκαθαρτος ὢν. Ὁυτως και ὁ λητης ποτε ἐσχολασεν ἐν ταις ληϊειαις. Ὁτε δὴ ἐν τω σταυρω ἠν ὁμολογησεν ἀυτος, καθως προειπον, και πληρεται εἰς αυτον το προφητευθεν. De eo nimirum locutus est Propheta, *Et scarabeus è ligno vocem dabit.* Nostis, fratres, scarabeum ipsum immundum circa immunda negotiosum esse: ita quoque et hic latro negotiosus fuit in latrocinando; in cruce tamen confitetur, et in eo expletur quod prophetatum fuit." ATHANAS. *cont. Omnes Hæreses.* Op. tom. i. p. 1078. Ed. Colon.

Bernard's exhortation against covetousness, is as follows: "Utinam in duodecim (sc. clericis) unus hodie Petrus; unus qui reliquerit omnia, unus qui *loculis careat*, inveniatur. Unus, inquit [Christus], ex vobis diabolus est. —A *duobus* itaque *bolis* diabolus dicitur, et Judas non loculum sed loculos habet." —GAUFRIDI *Declamationes ex S. Bernardi Sermonibus Collectæ.* BERNARD. Op. tom. ii. p. 304. Ed. Mabillone.

NOTE (VV.)

These lines are adapted by Taylor to his purpose from two passages in Prudentius. In the first, the poet is speaking of the fall and redemption of the world: in the second, of the plagues of Egypt.

> "Stragem sed istam non tulit
> Christus, cadentum *gentium*
> Impunè, ne forsan sui
> Patris periret fabrica." — CATHEM. *Hymn.* xi. 40.

> "Quæ tandem poterit lingua retexere
> Laudes, Christe, tuas, qui *domitam Pharon,*
> *Plagis multimodis cedere præsuli*
> *Cogis Justitiæ, vindice dextera.*" — *Ib. Hymn.* v. 83.

NOTE (WW.)

It is not often that Taylor borrows from contemporary writers; yet, from the singularity and aptness of the allusion,

which was not likely to occur to two unconnected persons, I cannot help thinking, that he has drawn the following passage of his second Sermon on the ministerial duties from the Golden Remains of John Hales, as well as the work of Julius Agricola. Hales died in great poverty before the Restoration. In his Remains, published first in 1659, the same simile occurs, (p. 35,) in almost the same words, and the goblin labourers of whom he speaks, are represented at work in the vignette to the copper-plate frontispiece.

" I remember that Agricola, in his book ' De Animalibus Subterraneis,' tells of a certain kind of spirits that use to converse in mines, and trouble the poor labourers; they dig metals, they cleanse, they cast, they melt, they separate, they join the ore; but when they are gone, the men find just nothing done, not one step of their work set forward. So it is in the books and expositions of many men; they study, they argue, they expound, they confute, they reprove, they open secrets, and make new discoveries; and when you turn the bottom upwards, up starts nothing; no man is the wiser, no man is instructed, no truth discovered, no proposition cleared, nothing is altered, but that much labour and much time is lost; and this is manifest in nothing more than in books of controversy, and in mystical expositions of Scripture, ' Quærunt quod nusquam est, inveniunt tamen.'"—Vol. vi. p. 516.

NOTE (XX.)

The dedication is to the chief magistrates and senate of Hamburgh, in which, after complimenting them on their comparatively indulgent treatment of the Jews, the translator proceeds as follows—

" Illustre tradit nobilissimus autor *Sadus* venerandæ antiquitatis exemplum, Abrahamum patriarcham, hospitalitatis gloriâ celebratum, vix sibi felix faustumque credidisse hospitium, nisi externum aliquem, tanquam aliquod præsidium domi, excepisset hospitem, quem omni officiorum genere coleret. Aliquando, cùm hospitem domi non haberet, foris eum quæsiturus campestria petiit. Fortè virum quemdam, senectute gravem, itinere fessum, sub arbore recumbentem conspicit.

" Quem comiter exceptum, domum hospitem deducit, et omni officio colit. Cùm cœnam appositam Abrahamus et familia ejus à precibus auspicarentur, senex manum ad cibum protendit, nullo religionis aut pietatis auspicio usus. Quo viso, Abrahamus eum ita affatur: 'Mi senex, vix decet canitiem tuam sine prævia Numinis veneratione cibum sumere.' Ad quæ senex: 'Ego ignicola sum, istiusmodi morum ignarus; nostri enim majores nullam talem me docuere pietatem.' Ad quam vocem horrescens Abrahamus rem sibi cum ignicola profano et à sui Numinis cultu alieno esse, eum è vestigio et à cœna remotum, ut sui consortii pestem et religionis hostem, domo ejicit. Sed, ecce, Summus Deus Abrahamum statim monet: 'Quid agis, Abrahame? Itane viro fecisse te decuit? Ego isti seni, quantumvis in me usque ingrato, et vitam et victum centum amplius annos dedi; tu homini nec unam cœnam dare, unumque eum momentum ferre potes?' Quâ Divinâ voce monitus, Abrahamus senem ex itinere revocatum domum reducit, et tantis officiis, pietate, et ratione colit, ut suo exemplo ad veri Numinis cultum eum perduxerit." — G. GENTIUS *Historia Judaica, Res Judæorum ab eversa Æde Hierosolymitana ad hæc ferè Tempora usque completæ.* Amstelodam. anno 1651.

The above work is a translation of the "Shebet Jehuda," or "Rod of Judah," of R. Solomon Ben Virga, for an account of whom see Bartolocii Bibliotheca Rabbinica, p. 4. p. 575. The *Sadus*, from whom Gentius professes to have taken the story of Abraham, I once supposed to be Saadias Gaon, whose agnomen of "Gaon," the "Illustrious," agrees with the title which Gentius assigns to him.

The kindness of Lord Teignmouth has, however, pointed out to me the exact narrative, not in a Jewish, but a Persian writer, the celebrated poet Saadi, who gives it as *related to him*, he does not say by whom, in the second book of his Bostan. With the works of Saadi, Gentius was well acquainted, having himself published an edition of his Gulistan. Lord T. informs me that Saadi relates of himself, in this last work, that, having been taken prisoner by the Franks, he was compelled to work *with some Jews*, on the fortifications of Tripoli. And he suggests, therefore, that

he may have possibly heard the story from them, so that it may, after all, have been originally derived from a Jewish source. A learned Jew also, Mr. J. D'Allemand, professes to have a strong impression on his mind that the tradition is to be met with, in all its circumstances, in one of the commentaries on Gen. xviii. 1. and on the words וה' נראה אליו באלני ממרא. No such commentary, however, has been discovered; and my friend, the reverend Mr. Knatchbull, Fellow of All Souls', whose extensive acquaintance with every branch of Oriental learning makes his opinion of the highest value, agrees with Mr. Oxlee in giving the credit of the story to Saadi. It is remarkable, too, that the "parable" does not occur in the first edition of the Liberty of Prophesying, published in 1647, and, therefore, before the work of Gentius appeared; but that it is added in the second edition, which came out six years after the "Historia Judaica." It is, therefore, most probable that Taylor found the story in Gentius; and that, by the common fate of those who quote at second hand, he ascribed to a Jew what his author had taken from a Persian.

The following is a translation of the passage in Saadi, which appeared in the Asiatic Miscellany, Calcutta, 1789; corrected, however, in one of its expressions, by the same distinguished person whose obliging assistance I have already acknowledged. The reader will, probably, be of opinion that, with whomsoever the praise of originality rests, the story has gained considerably in spirit and terseness in its progress, through Gentius, Taylor, and Franklin.

"I have heard that once, during a whole week, no traveller came to the hospitable dwelling of the friend of God, whose amiable nature led him to observe it as a rule, not to eat in the morning unless some needy person arrived from a journey. He went out and turned his eyes towards every place. He viewed the valley on all sides, and behold, in the desert, a solitary man resembling the willow, whose head and beard were whitened with the snow of age. To encourage him, he called him Friend, and, agreeably to the manners of the munificent, gave him an invitation, saying, 'Oh apple of mine eye, perform an act of courtesy by becoming my guest!' He assented, arose, and stepped for-

ward readily, for he knew the kind disposition of his host, (on whom be peace!) The associates of Abraham's hospitable dwelling seated the old man with respect. The table was ordered to be spread, and the company placed themselves around. When the assembly began to utter 'In the name of God!' (or to say grace,) and not a word was heard to proceed from the old man, Abraham addressed him in such words as these,—'Oh elder, stricken in years! thou appearest not to me in faith and zeal like other aged ones, for is it not an obligatory law to invoke, at the time of eating your daily meal, that divine Providence from whence it is derived?' He replied,—'I practise no rite which I have not heard from my priest, who worshippeth fire.' The good-omened prophet discovered this vitiated old man to be a Gueber, and, finding him an alien to the faith, drove him away in miserable plight, the polluted being rejected by those that are pure. A voice from the glorious and omnipotent God was heard, with this severe reprehension,—'Oh friend! I have supported him through a life of an hundred years, and thou hast conceived an abhorrence of him all at once! If a man pay adoration to fire, shouldst thou withhold the hand of liberality?'"

NOTE (YY.)

These schoolmen are quoted by Aquinas, who, however, dissents from them. "Quidam dicunt quod primus homo non fuit creatus in gratia, sed tamen postmodum gratia fuit sibi collata antequam peccâsset. Plurimæ autem sanctorum auctoritates attestantur hominem in statu innocentiæ gratiam habuisse. Sed quod fuerit conditus in gratia, ut alii dicunt, videtur requirere ipsa rectitudo primi statûs, in qua Deus hominem fecit: secundum illud Ecclesiast. 7. Deus fecit hominem rectum."—S. THOM. AQUINAT. *Summa*, Pars 1. Quæst. 95. Art. i. p. 180.

NOTE (ZZ.)

If Mrs. Phillips thought fit to publish his papers, Taylor desires, in a postscript, "that they may be consigned into

the hands of my worthy friend, *Dr. Wedderburne:* for I do not only expose all my sicknesses to his cure, but I submit my weaknesses to his censure; being as confident to find of him charity for what is pardonable as remedy for what is curable."——"And, as all that know him reckon him among the best physicians, so I know him worthy to be reckoned among the best friends."—Vol. xi. p. 335.

The person thus highly extolled by Taylor, is spoken of by Anthony Wood, as one of the physicians in ordinary to Charles the First, and a person of vast experience. He was originally a professor of philosophy at St. Andrew's; "but, that being too narrow a place for so great a person, he left it, travelled into various countries, and became so celebrated for his great skill in physic, that he was the chief man of this country for many years for that faculty. Afterwards he received the honour of knighthood, and was highly valued when he was in Holland with the prince, in 1646-7. At length, though his infirmities and great age forced him to retire from public practice and business, yet his fame contracts all the Scotch nation to him, and his noble hospitality and kindness to all that were learned and virtuous made his conversation no less loved than his advice was desired."

NOTE (AAA.)

In stating the cases of intermarriage of kindred, Taylor appears to have been chiefly guided and sometimes misled by Grotius. He is wrong in supposing that very few learned men took the affirmative side as to the expediency and necessity of a divorce between Henry the Eighth and Queen Katharine. Burnet, on the contrary, observes, what is apparent from all contemporary history, that whatsoever King Henry's secret motives were, in the suit of his divorce, he had the constant tradition of the church on his side, and that, in all the ages and parts of it, which was carefully searched into and fully proved; so that no author, older than Cardinal Cajetan, could be found to be set against such a current of tradition.

In subjoining a few "Corrigenda," the Corrector of the Press requests the Reader to extend some kind indulgence to those errors, which still remain either in Text or Notes. Whatever inaccuracies may be detected,—many, very many, have been expunged. The labour, incident to this task, is greater than will, at first, be imagined. The necessary books of reference cannot always be procured; nor can the press be detained, while search is made after the retreat of some one quotation. Former editions of Taylor swarm with mistakes: the punctuation and general state of the text are very defective: verse is printed without any regard to metre, and prose often assumes the appearance of verse. These difficulties have been augmented by the desultory manner, in which Bishop Taylor adduces his extracts; sometimes he quotes from memory; sometimes contents himself with adding the bare *name* of the author,—as *Plutarch*, *Seneca*, &c.; sometimes omits the very name; and often assigns the sentiment to a wrong author.—That some effort has been made to remedy these defects, will appear from the numerous references, which, in the following volumes, the Corrector of the Press has made to the volume and page of modern editions of the classics.—The candid reader is requested to bear in mind, that these corrections were made at such intervals, as could be spared from very laborious professional pursuits.

Bishop Taylor's very lax mode of referring to classical authors is specified more than once, in the latter volumes of this edition. To the instances there adduced, and to others which the classical reader will discover, may be added the two following. 1. Arrian, ridiculing those who affect the stiff appearance and gait of philosophers, contemptuously asks, "Why do you strut about, as if you had swallowed a *spit*?" Τί οὖν ἡμῖν ὀβελίσκου καταπιὼν περιπατεῖς; which Bishop Taylor (vol. v. p. 518) renders, "We walk by the *obelisk*, and meditate in piazzas."—2. "Some nations used to *eat* the bodies of their friends (vol. iv. p. 567):" Bishop Taylor thus assigns to the *relations* the office, which Cicero (to whom he alludes) describes as performed by *dogs*. (Tusc. Q. i. 45.)

J. R. PITMAN.

CORRIGENDA.

The lines are numbered from the bottom of the page.

Vol. II. p. 24, at the bottom, read,

Οἶσι σὺ τοὺς θανόντας, ὦ Νικήρατε,
Τρυφῆς ἁπάσης μεταλαβόντας ἐν βίῳ
Πέφευγέναι τὸ θεῖον ὡς λελυθότας;

PHILEM. *Frag.* 64. *ed. Cleric.* p. 360.

Vol. II. p. 444, line 7.

Ὁ δὲ πλοῦτος ἡμᾶς, καθάπερ ἰατρὸς πανὺς,
Τυφλοὺς, βλέποντας παραλαβὼν, πάντας ποιεῖ.

Incert. apud STOB. *Floril.* tit. 93.

Vol. III. p. 46, line 5.

Ψεῦδος δὲ μισεῖ πᾶς σοφὸς καὶ χρήσιμος.

MENAND. *ed. Cleric.* p. 208.

Vol. IV. p. 124, at the bottom.

Si natus es tu, Trophime, solus omnium
Hac lege, partu cum te mater edidit,
Ut semper eant tibi res arbitrio tuo,—
Felicitatem hanc si quis promisit deûm,
Irascereris jure: nam mala is fide
Et, &c. PLUTARCH. *Xyl.* t. ii. p. 103.

Vol. IV. p. 127, line 3.

Sursum for *sensim*.

Vol. IV. p. 138, line 1.

Οὐ καταθανεῖν γὰρ, &c.

EURIP. *Priestley's edit.* vol. vii. p. 714.

Vol. IV. p. 146, line 2.

Insert *jam* after *perduxerunt*.

ERNESTI, vol. ii. p. 421.

Vol. IV. p. 189, line 3.

Φάσματα, ὡς ἐν ὕπνῳ, ἐμβάλλεται, οἷά τ' ἐόντα·
Παίζουτε, στρεφουτε, ἅτους ἐμεῦ ὕστερον ὄντας
Εὕρειτ' οὐ νοέοντας ὅπερ θέμις ἐστὶ νοῆσαι.

Pallad. BRUNCK. *Anthol.* t. ii. p. 437.

Vol. IV. p. 247, line 2.

Καὶ μανθάνειν μὲν, οἷα δρᾶν μέλλω κακά·
Θυμὸς δὲ κρείσσων τῶν ἐμῶν βουλευμάτων.

Medea, PORSON. 1074.

Vol. IV. p. 337, line 5.

Τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον τῶν λόγων· ἄνθρωπος εἶ,
Οὗ μεταβολὴν θᾶττον πρὸς ὕψος, καὶ πάλιν
Ταπεινότητα, &c. MENAND. *Cleric.* p. 260.

Vol. IV. p. 346, line 5.

After *via*, place 'PROPERT. ii. 27, 1.'

Vol. IV. p. 349, line 2.

Tempus te tacitum subruet, &c.

Vol. IV. p. 362, line 5.

Read χιτῶν' for χιτῶν·

Vol. V. p. 278. Arrange the quotation from Sappho, thus:—

Κατθανοῖσα δὲ κείσεαι ποτὶ, καὶ μναμοσύνα σέθεν
Ἔσσετ' οὐδέποκ' αὖ ὕστερον· οὐ γὰρ πεδέχεις ῥόδων
Τῶν ἐκ Πιερίας·—*See* MITSCHERL. HORAT. i. iv.

A

FUNERAL SERMON,

PREACHED AT

THE OBSEQUIES

OF THE

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

JEREMY,

LORD BISHOP OF DOWN:

WHO DECEASED AT LISBURN, AUGUST 13, 1667.

BY

GEORGE RUST, D. D.

LORD BISHOP OF DROMORE.

A

FUNERAL SERMON.

1 JOHN, III. 2.

It doth not yet appear what we shall be.

GLORIOUS things are spoken in Scripture concerning the future reward of the righteous; and all the words that are wont to signify what is of greatest price and value, or can represent the most enravishing objects of our desires, are made use of, by the Holy Ghost, to recommend unto us this transcendent state of blessedness: such are these: "Rivers of pleasures; a fountain of living water; a treasure that can never be wasted, nor never taken from us; an inheritance in light; an incorruptible crown; a kingdom; the kingdom of God, and the kingdom of Christ; the kingdom of glory; a crown of glory, and life, and righteousness, and immortality; the vision of God; being filled with all the fulness of God; an exceeding eternal weight of glory," *καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν αἰώνιον βάρος δόξης*, words strangely emphatical, that cannot be put into English; and if they could, they would not be able to convey to our minds the notion that they design; for it is too big for any expressions: and, after all that can be said, we must resolve with our apostle, "It does not yet appear what we shall be."

At this distance, we cannot make any likely guesses or conjectures at the glory of that future state. Men make very imperfect descriptions of countries or cities, that never were there themselves, nor saw the places with their own eyes. It is not for any mortal creature to make a map of that Canaan that lies above: it is, to all us that live here on the hither side of death, an unknown country, and an undiscovered land. It may be, some heavenly pilgrim, that, with his holy thoughts and ardent desires, is continually travelling thitherward, arrives sometimes near the borders of

the promised land, and the suburbs of the new Jerusalem, and gets upon the top of Pisgah, and there he has an imperfect prospect of a brave country, that lies a far way off; but he cannot tell how to describe it; and all that he hath to say, to satisfy the curious inquirer, is only this, 'If he would know the glories of it, he must go and see it.' It was believed of old, that those places that lie under the line, were burned up by the continual heat of the sun, and were not habitable, either by man or beast: but later discoveries tell us, that there are the most pleasant countries that the earth can show; insomuch that some have placed Paradise itself in that climate. Sure I am, of all the regions of the intellectual world, and the several lands that are peopled either with men or angels, the most pleasant countries they lie under the line, under the direct beams of the Sun of righteousness, where there is an eternal day, and an eternal spring; where is that tree of life, that beareth twelve manner of fruits, and yieldeth her fruit every month. Thus we may use figures, and metaphors, and allegories, and tell you of fruitful meads, and spacious fields, and winding rivers, and purling brooks, and chanting birds, and shady groves, and pleasant gardens, and lovely bowers, and noble seats, and stately palaces, and goodly people, and excellent laws, and sweet societies; but this is but to frame little comparisons to please our childish fancies; and just such discourses as a blind man would make concerning colours,—so do we talk of those things we never saw, and disparage the state while we would recommend it. Indeed, it requires some saint or angel from heaven to discourse upon the subject; and yet that would not do neither: for though they might be able to speak something of it, yet we should want ears to hear it. Neither can those things be declared but in the language of heaven, which would be little understood by us, the poor inhabitants of this lower world; they are, indeed, things too great to be brought within the compass of words. St. Paul, when he had been rapt up into the third heaven, saw ῥήματα ἄῤῥητα, 'things unlawful, or impossible, to be uttered;' and "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor can it enter into the heart of man to conceive, what God hath prepared for them that love him;" and, "It does not yet appear what we shall be," said that beloved disciple, that lay in the bosom of our Saviour.

You will not now expect that I should give you a relation of that which cannot be uttered, nor so much as conceived; or declare unto you what our eagle-sighted evangelist tells us "does not yet appear." But that you may understand that that which sets this state of happiness so beyond the reach of all imagination, is only its transcendent excellency, I shall tell you something of what does already appear of it, and may be known concerning it.

1. First of all, we are assured that we shall then be freed from all the evils and miseries that we now labour under: vanity and misery,—they are two words that speak the whole of this present world; the enjoyments of it are dreams, and fancies, and shadows, and appearances; and, if any thing be, it is only evil and misery that is real and substantial. Vanity and folly, labour and pains, cares and fears, crosses and disappointments, sickness and diseases, they make up the whole of our portion here. This life, it is begun in a cry, and it ends in a groan; and he that lives most happily, his life is chequered with black and white, and his days are not all sunshine, but some are cloudy and gloomy, and there is a worm at the root of all his joy, that soon eats out the sap and heart of it; and the gourd in whose shade he now so much pleases himself, by to-morrow will be withered and gone. But heaven is not subject to these mixtures and uncertainties; it is a region of calmness and serenity, and the soul is there gotten above the clouds, and is not annoyed with those storms and tempests, that are here below. All tears shall then be wiped from our eyes; and though sorrow may endure for the night of this world, yet joy will spring up in the morning of eternity.

2. We are sure we shall be freed from this earthly, and clothed with a heavenly and glorified, body. These bodies of ours, they are the graves and sepulchres, the prisons and dungeons of our heaven-born souls; and though we deck and adorn them, and pride ourselves in their beauty and comeliness, yet, when all is done, they are but sinks of corruption and defilement, they expose us to many pains and diseases, and incline us to many lusts and passions; and the more we pamper them, the greater burden they are unto our minds; they impose upon our reasons, and, by their steams and vapours, cast a mist before our understandings; they

clog our affections, and, like a heavy weight, depress us unto this earth, and keep us from soaring aloft among the winged inhabitants of the upper regions: but those robes of light and glory, which we shall be clothed withal at the resurrection of the just, and those heavenly bodies which the Gospel hath then assured unto us, they are not subject to any of these mischiefs and inconveniences, but are fit and accommodate instruments for the soul in its highest exaltations. And this is an argument that the Gospel does dwell much upon, viz. the redemption of our bodies, that "He shall change our vile bodies, that they may be like unto his glorious body;" and we are taught to look upon it as one great piece of our reward, that we shall be "clothed upon with our house which is from heaven;" that "this corruptible shall put on incorruption,—and this mortal, immortality;" that, "as we have borne the image of the earthly, so we must bear the image of the heavenly, Adam;" who was ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπουράνιος, of "heaven heavenly;" as "the first man was ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός, of the earth earthly." And, therefore, I think the schools put too mean a rate upon this great promise of the Gospel—the resurrection of our bodies; and, I believe, it might be demonstrated from the principles of sound philosophy, that this article of our Christian faith, which the atheist makes so much sport withal, is so far from being chargeable with any absurdity, that it is founded upon the highest reason: for, seeing we find by too great an experience, that the soul has so close and necessary a dependence upon this gross and earthly mass that we now carry about with us, it may be disputed with some probability, whether it be ever able to act independently of all matter whatsoever: at least, we are assured that the state of conjunction is most connatural to her, and that intellectual pleasure itself is not only multiplied, but the better felt, by its redundancy upon the body and spirits; and if it be so, then the purer and more defecate the body is, the better will the soul be appointed for the exercise of its noblest operations; and it will be no mean piece of our reward hereafter, that that which is sown an animal, shall be raised a heavenly, body.

3. We are sure, that we shall then be free from sin, and all those foolish lusts and passions that we are now enslaved unto. The life of a Christian, it is a continual warfare; and

he endures many sore conflicts, and makes many sad complaints, and often bemoans himself after such a manner as this: 'Woe is me, that I am forced to dwell in Meshech, and to have my habitation in the tents of Kedar; that there should be so many Goliahs within me, that defy the host of Israel; so many sons of Anak that hinder my entrance into the land of promise, and the rest of God; that I should toil and labour among the bricks, and live in bondage unto these worse than Egyptian task-masters.' Thus does he sit down by the rivers of Babylon, and weep over those ruins and desolations, that these worse than Assyrian armies have made in the city and house of his God. And many a time does he cry out in the bitterness of his soul, "Wretched creature that I am! who shall deliver me from this body of death?" And though, through his faith, and courage, and constancy, he be daily getting ground of his spiritual enemies, yet it is but by inches; and every step he takes, he must fight for it; and living, as he does, in an enemy's country, he is forced always to be upon his guard; and if he slumber never so little, presently he is surprised by a watchful adversary. This is our portion here, and our lot is this; but when we arrive unto those regions of bliss and glory that are above, we shall then stand safely upon the shore, and see all our enemies, Pharaoh and all his host, drowned and destroyed in the Red Sea, and, being delivered from the world, and the flesh, and the devil, death, and sin, and hell,—we shall sing the song of Moses, and of the Lamb, an epinicion, and song of eternal triumph, unto the God of our salvation.

4. We shall be sure to meet with the best company that earth or heaven affords. Good company, it is the great pleasure of the life of man; and we shall then come "to the innumerable company of angels, and the general assembly of the church of the first-born, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant." The oracle tells Amelius, inquiring what was become of Plotinus's soul, that 'he was gone to Pythagoras, and Socrates, and Plato, and as many as had borne a part in the choir of heavenly love.' And I may say to every good man, that he shall go to the company of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; Moses, David, and Samuel; all the prophets and

apostles, and all the holy men of God, that have been in all the ages of the world. All those brave and excellent persons that have been scattered at the greatest distance of time and place, and, in their several generations, have been the salt of the earth, to preserve mankind from utter degeneracy and corruption,—these shall be all gathered together, and meet in one constellation in that firmament of glory. "O præclarum diem, cùm ad illud divinorum animorum concilium cœtumque proficiscar, atque ex hac turba ac colluvione discedam!" "O that blessed day, when we shall make our escape from this medley and confused riot, and shall arrive to that great council and general rendezvous of divine and godlike spirits!" But, which is more than all, we shall then meet our Lord Jesus Christ, the Head of our recovery, whose story is now so delightful unto us, as reporting nothing of him, but the greatest sweetness and innocence, and meekness and patience, and mercy and tenderness, and benignity and goodness, and whatever can render any person lovely or amiable: and who, out of his dear love and deep compassion unto mankind, gave up himself unto the death for us men, and for our salvation. And if St. Austin made it one of his wishes, 'to have seen Jesus Christ in the flesh,' how much more desirable is it, to see him out of his terrestrial weeds, in his robes of glory, with all his redeemed ones about him! And this I cannot but look upon as a great advantage and privilege of that future state; for I am not apt to swallow down that conceit of the schools, that we shall spend eternity in gazing upon the naked Deity; for certainly the happiness of man consists in having all his faculties, in their due subordinations, gratified with their proper objects; and I cannot but believe a great part of heaven to be the blest society that is there; their enravishing beauty, that is to say, their inward life and perfection, flowering forth and raying itself through their glorified bodies; the rare discourses wherewith they entertain one another; the pure, and chaste, and spotless, and yet most ardent, love, wherewith they embrace each other; the ecstatic devotions wherein they join together. And, certainly, every pious and devout soul will readily acknowledge with me, that it must needs be matter of unspeakable pleasure, to be taken into the choir of angels and seraphims, and the

glorious company of the apostles, and the goodly fellowship of the prophets, and the noble army of martyrs; and to join with them in singing praises, and hallelujahs, and songs of joy and triumph, unto our great Creator and Redeemer, the Father of spirits, and the Lover of souls, unto him that sits upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, for ever and ever.

5. We are sure we shall then have our capacities filled, and all our desires answered; "They hunger no more, neither thirst any more; for the Lamb, which is in the midst of the throne, shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters." What vast degrees of perfection and happiness the nature of man is capable of, we may best understand, by viewing it in the person of Christ, taken into the nearest union with Divinity, and made God's Vicegerent in the world, and the Head and Governor of the whole creation. In this our narrow and contracted state, we are apt to think too meanly of ourselves, and do not understand the dignity of our own natures, what we were made for, and what we are capable of: but as Plotinus somewhere observes, "We are like children, from our birth brought up in ignorance of, and at a great distance from, our parents and relations; and have forgot the nobleness of our extraction, and rank ourselves and our fortunes among the lot of beggars, and mean and ordinary persons; though we are the offspring of a great Prince, and were born to a kingdom." It does, indeed, become creatures to think modestly of themselves; yet, if we consider it aright, it will be found very hard to set any bounds or limits to our own happiness, and say, 'Hitherto it shall arise, and no further.' For that wherein the happiness of man consists, *viz.* truth and goodness, the communication of the divine nature, and the illapses of divine love,—it does not cloy, or glut, or satiate; but every participation of them does widen and enlarge our souls, and fits us for further and further receptions: the more we have, the more we are capable of; the more we are filled, the more room is made in our spirits; and thus it is still and still, even till we arrive unto such degrees as we can assign no measures unto.

We shall then be made like unto God, Ἡ σωτηρία οὐχ ἑτέρως γένηται, εἰ μὴ θεουμένων τῶν σωζομένων; said the Areopagite, 'Salvation can no otherwise be accomplished, but by becoming God-like.' "It does not yet appear what we shall be;" but

"when he shall appear, we shall be like him," says our evangelist; for "we shall see him as he is." There is no seeing God as he is, but by becoming like unto him; nor is there any enjoying of him, but by being transformed into his image and similitude. Men usually have very strange notions concerning God, and the enjoyment of him; or rather, these are words to which there is no correspondent conception in their minds: but if we would understand God aright, we must look upon him as infinite wisdom, righteousness, love, goodness, and whatever speaks any thing of beauty and perfection; and if we pretend to worship him, it must be by loving and adoring his transcendent excellencies: and if we hope to enjoy him, it must be by conformity unto him, and participation of his nature. The frame and constitution of things is such, that it is impossible that man should arrive to happiness any other way. And, if the sovereignty of God should dispense with our obedience, the nature of the thing would not permit us to be happy without it: if we live only the animal life, we may indeed be happy, as beasts are happy; but the happiness that belongs to a rational and intellectual being, can never be attained but in a way of holiness and conformity unto the divine will: for, such a temper and disposition of mind is necessary unto happiness, not by virtue of any arbitrarious constitution of heaven, but the eternal laws of righteousness, and immutable respects of things, do require and exact it: yea, I may truly say, that God and Christ, without us, cannot make us happy: for we are not conscious to ourselves of any thing, but only the operations of our own minds; and it is not the person of God and Christ, but their life and nature, wherein consists our formal happiness: for, what is the happiness of God himself, but only that pleasure and satisfaction that results from a sense of his infinite perfections? And how is it possible for a creature to be more happy, than by partaking of that, in its measure and proportion, which is the happiness of God himself?

The soul, being thus prepared, shall live in the presence of God, and lie under the influences and illapses of divine love and goodness; "Father, I will that they whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am, that they may behold my glory;" that they fight manfully under the banners of heaven, and overcome their spiritual enemies. "They shall

eat of the hidden manna, and become pillars in the temple of God, and shall go no more out: they shall stand before the throne of God continually, and serve him day and night in his temple; and he that sitteth on the throne, shall dwell amongst them." God shall put under them his everlasting arms, and carry them in his bosom, and they shall suck the full breasts of eternal goodness: for now there is nothing can hinder the most near and intimate conjunction of the soul with God; for, things that are alike, do easily mingle with one another: but the mixture that is betwixt bodies, be they never so homogeneal, comes but to an external touch; for their parts can never run up into one another. But there is no such ἀντιτυπία, or 'resistance,' amongst spiritual beings; and we are estranged from God, οὐ τόπῳ ἀλλ' ἑτερότητι καὶ διαφορᾷ, 'not by distance of place, but by difference and diversity of nature,' and when that is removed, he becomes present to us, and we to him: ὥστε ἁρμόσαι καὶ οἷον ἐφάψασθαι καὶ θίγειν αὐτὸν ὁμοιότητι, &c. like the 'magnitudines congruæ' in the mathematics, 'Quando prima primis, media mediis, extrema extremis, partes denique partibus usquequaque respondent,' 'Each of whose parts do exactly answer one to the other.' This, therefore, is the soul's progress from that state of purgation to illumination, and so to union. There are several faculties in the soul of man, that are conformed to several kinds of objects; and, according to that life a man is awaked into, so these faculties do exert themselves: and though whilst we live barely an animal life, we converse with little more than this outward world, and the objects of our senses,—yet there are faculties within us that are receptive of God; and when we arrive once unto a due measure of purity of spirit, the rays of heavenly light will as certainly shine into our minds, as the beams of the sun, when it arises above the horizon, do illuminate the clear and pellucid air: and from this sight and illumination, the soul proceeds to an intimate union with God, and to a taste and touch of him. This is that ἡσυχος πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐπαφὴ, that 'silent touch' with God, that fills the soul with unexpressible joy and triumph. For, if the objects of this outward world, that strike upon our senses, do so hugely please and delight us; what infinite pleasure then must there needs be in those touches and impresses, that the divine love and goodness shall make upon our souls?

But these are things that we may talk of, as we would do of a sixth sense, or something we have no distinct notion or idea of; but the perfect understanding of them belongs only to the future state of comprehension.

Lastly, we shall have our knowledge, and our love, which are the most perfect and beatifying acts of our minds, employed about their noblest objects in their most exalted measures; for a man to resolve himself in some knotty question, or answer some stubborn argument, or find out some noble conclusion, or solve some hard problem, what ineffable pleasure does it create many times to a contemplative mind? We know, who sacrificed a hecatomb for one mathematical demonstration; and another, that, upon the like occasion, cried out, εὕρηκα, εὕρηκα, in a kind of rapture. To have the secrets of nature disclosed, and the mysteries of art revealed; but above all, the riddles of providence unfolded,—are such jewels as I know many searching and inquisitive spirits would be willing to purchase at any rate. When we come to heaven,—I will not say we shall see all things in the mirror of divinity, for that, it may be, is an extravagancy of the schools; nor that any one true proposition, through the concatenation of truth, will then multiply itself into the explicit knowledge of all conclusions whatsoever, for I believe that a fancy too;—but our knowledge shall be strangely enlarged, and, for aught I can determine, be for ever receiving new additions and fresh accruments; the clue of divine providence will then be unravelled, and all those difficulties which now perplex us, will be easily assoiled; and we shall then perceive that the wisdom and goodness of God is a vast and comprehensive thing, and moves in a far larger sphere than we are aware of in this state of narrowness and imperfection. But there is something greater and beyond all this; and St. John has a strange expression, that 'we shall then see God even as he is;' and God, we know, is the well-spring of perfection and happiness, the fountain and original of all beauty; he is infinitely glorious, and lovely, and excellent; and if we see him as he is, all his glory must descend into us and become ours: for we can no otherwise see God, as I said before, but by becoming deiform, by being changed into the same glory. But love, that is it which makes us most happy, and by that we are most intimately conjoined unto God, for

"he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him:" and how pleasant beyond all imagination must it needs be, to have the soul melted into a flame of love, and that fire fed and nourished by the enjoyment of its beloved; to be transported into ecstasies and raptures of love, to be swallowed up in the embraces of eternal sweetness; to be lost in the source and fountain of happiness and bliss, like a spark in the fire, or a beam in the sun, or a drop in the ocean.

It may be, you will tell me, I have been all this while confuting my text, and giving you a relation of that which St. John tells us, "does not yet appear what it is;" but my design has been the same with the holy evangelist's; and that is, to represent unto you how transcendently great that state of happiness must needs be; when as, by what way we are able to apprehend of it, it is infinitely the object of our desires; and yet we are assured by those, that are best able to tell, that the best and greatest part of the country is yet undiscovered, and that we cannot so much as guess at the pleasure of it, till we come to enjoy it. And, indeed, it is impossible it should be otherwise; for, happiness being a matter of sense, all the words in the world cannot convey the notion of it into our minds; and it is only to be understood by them that feel it; *μὴ κατὰ ἐπιστήμην ἡ σύνεσις ἐκείνου, μηδὲ κατὰ νόησιν, ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα νοητὰ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ παρουσίαν ἐπιστήμης κρείττονα.*

But though it does not yet appear what we shall be; yet so much already appears of it, that it cannot but seem the most worthy object of our endeavours and desires; and by some few clusters that have been shown us of this good land, we may guess what pleasant and delightful fruit it bears: and if we have but any reverence of ourselves, and will but consider the dignity of our natures, and the vastness of that happiness we are capable of; methinks we should be always travelling towards that heavenly country, though our way lies through a wilderness: and be striving for this great prize and immortal crown; and be clearing our eyes, and purging our sight, that we may come to this vision of God; shaking off all fond passions and dirty desires, and breathing forth our souls in such aspirations as these:

My soul thirsteth for thee, O Lord, in a dry and barren land, where no water is; O that thou wouldst distil, and drop down the dew of thy heavenly grace into all its secret

chinks and pores; one thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, and behold his glory: for a day in thy courts is better than a thousand, and I had rather be a door-keeper in the house of the Lord, than dwell in the tents of wickedness. All the kings of the earth, they are thy tributaries; the kings of Tarshish, and of the isles, bring presents unto thee; the kings of Sheba and Seba offer gifts. O that we could but pay thee that, which is so due unto thee, the tribute of our hearts! The heathen are come into thine inheritance; thy holy temple have they defiled: help us, O God of our salvation, and deliver us, and purge away our sins from us, for thy name's sake! O that the Lord, whom we seek, would come to his own house, and give peace there, and fill it with his glory! Come and cleanse thine own temple, for we have made it a den of thieves, which should have been a house of prayer! O that we might never give sleep to our eyes, nor slumber to our eyelids, till we have prepared a house for the Lord, and a tabernacle for the God of Jacob! The curse of Cain it is fallen upon us, and we are as vagabonds in the earth, and wander from one creature to another. O that our souls might come at last to dwell in God, our fixed and eternal habitation! We, like silly doves, fly up and down the earth, but can find no rest for the sole of our feet; O that, after all our weariness and our wanderings, we might return into the ark; and that God would put forth his hand, and take us, and pull us in unto himself! We have too long lived upon vanity and emptiness, the wind and the whirlwind; O that we may now begin to feed upon substance, and delight ourselves in marrow and fatness! O that God would strike our rocky hearts, that there might spring up a fountain in the wilderness, and pools in the desert; that we might drink of that water, whereof whosoever drinks, shall never thirst more; that God would give us that portion of goods that falleth to us, not to waste it with riotous living, but therewith to feed our languishing souls, lest they be weary and faint by the way! We ask not the children's bread, but the crumbs that fall from thy table; that our baskets may be filled with thy fragments: for they will be better than wine, and sweeter than the honey and the honeycomb, and more pleasant to us than a feast of fat

things. We have wandered too long in a barren and howling desert, where wild beasts and doleful creatures, owls and bats, satyrs and dragons, keep their haunts; O that we might be fed in green pastures, and led by the still waters, that the winter might be past, and the rain over and gone, that the flowers may appear on the earth, and the time of the singing of birds may come, and the voice of the turtle may be heard in our land! We have lived too long in Sodom, which is the place that God at last will destroy: O that we might arise, and be gone; and, while we are lingering, that the angels of God would lay hold upon our hands, and be merciful unto us, and bring us forth, and set us without the city; and that we may never look back any more, but may escape unto the mountain, and dwell safe in the rock of ages! Wisdom hath killed her beasts, she hath mingled her wine, and furnished her table; O that we might eat of her meat, and drink of her wine which she hath mingled! God knocks at the doors of our hearts; O let us open unto him those everlasting gates, that he may sup with us, and we with him; for he will bring his cheer along with him, and will feast us with manna and angels' food! O that the Sun of Righteousness might arise, and melt the iciness of our hearts! That God would send forth his Spirit, and, with his warmth and heat, dissolve our frozen souls; that God would breathe into our minds those still and gentle gales of divine inspirations, that may blow up and increase in us the flames of heavenly love! That we may be a whole burnt-offering, and all the substance of our souls be consumed by fire from heaven, and ascend up in clouds of incense! That, as so many sparks, we might be always mounting upward, till we return again into our proper elements! That, like so many particular rivulets, we may be continually making toward the sea, and never rest till we lose ourselves in that ocean of goodness, from whence we first came! That we may open our mouths wide, that God may satisfy them! That we may so perfectly discharge ourselves of all strange desires and passions, that our souls may be nothing else but a deep emptiness and vast capacity to be filled with all the fulness of God! Let but these be the breathings of our spirits, and this divine magnetism will most certainly draw down God into our souls, and we shall have some prelibations of that

happiness; some small glimpses, and little discoveries whereof, is all that belongs to this state of mortality.

I have as yet done but the half of my text: and I have another text yet to preach upon, and a very large and copious one,—the great person, whose obsequies we here come to celebrate: his fame is so great throughout the world, that he stands in no need of an encomium; and yet his worth is much greater than his fame; it is impossible not to speak great things of him, and yet it is impossible to speak what he deserves; and the meanness of an oration will but sully the brightness of his excellencies: but custom requires that something should be said, and it is a duty and a debt that we owe only unto his memory: and I hope his great soul, if it hath any knowledge of what is done here below, will not be offended at the smallness of our offering.

He was born at Cambridge, and brought up in the free-school there, and was ripe for the university, afore custom would allow of his admittance; but by that time he was thirteen years old, he was entered into Caius College; and as soon as he was graduate, he was chosen fellow. Had he lived among the ancient pagans, he had been ushered into the world with a miracle, and swans must have danced and sung at his birth; and he must have been a great hero, and no less than the son of Apollo, the god of wisdom and eloquence.

He was a man long afore he was of age, and knew little more of the state of childhood, than its innocency and pleasantness. From the university, by that time he was Master of Arts, he removed to London, and became public lecturer in the church of St. Paul's, where he preached to the admiration and astonishment of his auditory, and by his florid and youthful beauty, and sweet and pleasant air, and sublime and raised discourses, he made his hearers take him for some young angel, newly descended from the visions of glory. The fame of this new star, that outshone all the rest of the firmament, quickly came to the notice of the great archbishop of Canterbury, who would needs have him preach before him, which he performed not less to his wonder than satisfaction; his discourse was beyond exception and beyond imitation: yet the wise prelate thought him too young; but the great youth

humbly begged his grace to pardon that fault, and promised, if he lived, he would mend it. However, the grand patron of learning and ingenuity thought it for the advantage of the world, that such mighty parts should be afforded better opportunities of study and improvement, than a course of constant preaching would allow of; and to that purpose he placed him in his own college of All-Souls, in Oxford; where love and admiration still waited upon him: which, so long as there is any spark of ingenuity in the breasts of men, must needs be the inseparable attendants of so extraordinary a worth and sweetness. He had not been long here, afore my lord of Canterbury bestowed upon him the rectory of Uppingham in Rutlandshire, and soon after preferred him to be chaplain to king Charles the martyr, of blessed and immortal memory. Thus were preferments heaped upon him, but still less than his deserts; and that not through the fault of his great masters, but because the simplest honours and rewards were poor and inconsiderable, compared with the greatness of his worth and merit.

This great man had no sooner launched into the world, but a fearful tempest arose, and a barbarous and unnatural war disturbed a long and uninterrupted peace and tranquillity, and brought all things into disorder and confusion; but his religion taught him to be loyal, and engaged him on his prince's side, whose cause and quarrel he always owned and maintained, with a great courage and constancy: till at last, he and his little fortune were shipwrecked in that great hurricane, that overturned both church and state: this fatal storm cast him ashore in a private corner of the world, and a tender providence shrouded him under her wings, and the prophet was fed in the wilderness; and his great worthiness procured him friends, that supplied him with bread and necessaries. In this solitude he began to write those excellent discourses, which are enough of themselves to furnish a library, and will be famous to all succeeding generations, for their greatness of wit, and profoundness of judgment, and richness of fancy, and clearness of expression, and copiousness of invention, and general usefulness to all the purposes of a Christian. And by these he soon got a great reputation among all persons of judgment and indifferency, and his

name will grow greater still, as the world grows better and wiser.

When he had spent some years in this retirement, it pleased God to visit his family with sickness, and to take to himself the dear pledges of his favour, three sons of great hopes and expectations, within the space of two or three months: and though he had learned a quiet submission unto the divine will, yet the affliction touched him so sensibly, that it made him desirous to leave the country; and going to London, he there met my lord Conway, a person of great honour and generosity, who making him a kind proffer, the good man embraced it, and that brought him over into Ireland, and settled him at Portmore, a place made for study and contemplation, which he, therefore, dearly loved; and here he wrote his 'Cases of Conscience:' a book that is able alone to give its author immortality.

By this time the wheel of providence brought about the king's happy restoration, and there began a new world, and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters, and out of a confused chaos brought forth beauty and order, and all the three nations were inspired with a new life, and became drunk with an excess of joy: among the rest, this loyal subject went over to congratulate the prince and people's happiness, and bear a part in the universal triumph.

It was not long ere his sacred Majesty began the settlement of the church, and the great Doctor Jeremy Taylor was resolved upon for the bishopric of Down and Connor; and not long after, Dromore was added to it: and it was but reasonable that the king and church should consider their champion, and reward the pains and sufferings he underwent in the defence of their cause and honour. With what care and faithfulness he discharged his office, we are all his witnesses; what good rules and directions he gave his clergy, and how he taught us the practice of them by his own example. Upon his coming over bishop, he was made a privy-counsellor; and the university of Dublin gave him their testimony, by recommending him for their vice-chancellor: which honourable office he kept to his dying day.

During his being in this see, he wrote several excellent discourses, particularly his 'Dissuasive from Popery,' which

was received by a general approbation; and a 'Vindication' of it (now in the press) from some impertinent cavillers, that pretend to answer books, when there is nothing towards it more than the very title-page. This great prelate improved his talent with a mighty industry, and managed his stewardship rarely well; and his Master, when he called for his accounts, found him busy and at his work, and employed upon an excellent subject, 'A Discourse upon the Beatitudes;' which, if finished, would have been of great use to the world, and solve most of the cases of conscience that occur to a Christian, in all the varieties of states and conditions. But the all-wise God hath ordained it otherwise, and hath called home his good servant, to give him a portion in that blessedness, that Jesus Christ hath promised to all his faithful disciples and followers.

Thus having given you a brief account of his life, I know you will now expect a character of his person; but I foresee, it will befal him, as it does all glorious subjects, that are but disparaged by a commendation; one thing I am secure of, that I shall not be thought to speak hyperboles; for the subject can hardly be reached by any expressions; for he was none of God's ordinary works, but his endowments were so many, and so great, as really made him a miracle.

Nature had befriended him much in his constitution; for he was a person of most sweet and obliging humour, of great candour and ingenuity; and there was so much of salt and fineness of wit, and prettiness of address, in his familiar discourses, as made his conversation have all the pleasantness of a comedy, and all the usefulness of a sermon. His soul was made up of harmony; and he never spake, but he charmed his hearer, not only with the clearness of his reason, but all his words, and his very tone and cadences, were strangely musical.

But that which did most of all captivate and enravish, was, the gaiety and richness of fancy; for he had much in him of that natural enthusiasm, that inspires all great poets and orators; and there was a generous ferment in his blood and spirits, that set his fancy bravely a-work, and made it swell, and teem, and become pregnant to such degrees of

luxuriancy, as nothing but the greatness of his wit and judgment, could have kept it within due bounds and measures.

And, indeed, it was a rare mixture and a single instance, hardly to be found in an age: for the great trier of wits has told us, that there is a peculiar and several complexion, required for wit, and judgment, and fancy; and yet you might have found all these in this great personage, in their eminency and perfection. But that which made his wit and judgment so considerable, was the largeness and freedom of his spirit; for truth is plain and easy to a mind disentangled from superstition and prejudice; he was one of the Ἐκλεκτικοὶ, a sort of brave philosophers that Laertius speaks of, that did not addict themselves to any particular sect, but ingeniously sought for truth among all the wrangling schools; and they found her miserably torn and rent to pieces, and parcelled into rags, by the several contending parties, and so disfigured and misshapen, that it was hard to know her; but they made a shift to gather up her scattered limbs, which, as soon as they came together, by a strange sympathy and connaturalness, presently united into a lovely and beautiful body. This was the spirit of this great man; he weighed men's reasons, and not their names,—and was not scared with the ugly visors men usually put upon persons they hate, and opinions they dislike; not affrighted with the anathemas and execrations of an infallible chair, which he looked upon only as bugbears to terrify weak and childish minds. He considered that it is not likely any one party should wholly engross truth to themselves; that obedience is the only way to true knowledge; which is an argument that he has managed rarely well, in that excellent sermon of his, which he calls, 'Via Intelligentiæ;' that God always, and only, teaches docible and ingenuous minds, that are willing to hear and ready to obey, according to their light; that it is impossible a pure, humble, resigned, God-like soul, should be kept out of heaven, whatever mistakes it might be subject to in this state of mortality; that the design of heaven is not to fill men's heads, and feed their curiosities, but to better their hearts, and mend their lives. Such considerations as these, made him impartial in his disquisitions, and give a due allowance to the

reasons of his adversary, and contend for truth, and not for victory.

And now you will easily believe that an ordinary diligence would be able to make great improvements upon such a stock of parts and endowments; but to these advantages of nature, and excellency of his spirit, he added an indefatigable industry, and God gave a plentiful benediction: for, there were very few kinds of learning, but he was a Mystes, and a great master in them: he was a rare humanist, and hugely versed in all the polite parts of learning; and had thoroughly concocted all the ancient moralists, Greek and Roman, poets and orators; and was not unacquainted with the refined wits of the later ages, whether French or Italian.

But he had not only the accomplishments of a gentleman, but so universal were his parts, that they were proportioned to every thing; and though his spirit and humour were made up of smoothness and gentleness, yet he could bear with the harshness and roughness of the schools; and was not unseen in their subtilties and spinosities, and, upon occasion, could make them serve his purpose; and yet, I believe, he thought many of them very near akin to the famous Knight de la Mancha, and would make sport sometimes with the romantic sophistry, and fantastic adventures of school-errantry. His skill was great, both in the civil and canon law, and casuistical divinity; and he was a rare conductor of souls, and knew how to counsel and to advise; to solve difficulties, and determine cases, and quiet consciences. And he was no novice in Mr. I. S.'s new science of controversy; but could manage an argument and repartees, with a strange dexterity; he understood what the several parties in Christendom have to say for themselves, and could plead their cause to better advantage than any advocate of their tribe: and when he had done, he could confute them too; and show, that better arguments than ever they could produce for themselves, would afford no sufficient ground for their fond opinions.

It would be too great a task to pursue his accomplishments through the various kinds of literature: I shall content myself to add only his great acquaintance with the fathers and ecclesiastical writers, and the doctors of the first and

purest ages both of the Greek and Latin church; which he has made use of against the Romanists, to vindicate the Church of England from the challenge of innovation, and prove her to be truly ancient, catholic, and apostolical.

But religion and virtue is the crown of all other accomplishments; and it was the glory of this great man, to be thought a Christian, and whatever you added to it, he looked upon as a term of diminution: and yet he was a zealous son of the Church of England; but that was because he judged her (and with great reason) a church the most purely Christian of any in the world. In his younger years he met with some assaults from popery; and the high pretensions of their religious orders were very accommodate to his devotional temper: but he was always so much master of himself, that he would never be governed by any thing but reason, and the evidence of truth, which engaged him in the study of those controversies; and to how good purpose, the world is by this time a sufficient witness: but the longer, and the more he considered, the worse he liked the Roman cause, and became at last to censure them with some severity; but I confess I have so great an opinion of his judgment, and the charitableness of his spirit, that I am afraid he did not think worse of them than they deserve.

But religion is not a matter of theory and orthodox notions; and it is not enough to believe aright, but we must practise accordingly; and to master our passions, and to make a right use of that *αὐτεξούσιον*, and 'power that God has given us over our own actions,' is a greater glory than all other accomplishments that can adorn the mind of man; and, therefore, I shall close my character of this great personage with a touch upon some of those virtues, for which his memory will be precious to all posterity. He was a person of great humility; and notwithstanding his stupendous parts, and learning, and eminency of place, he had nothing in him of pride and humour, but was courteous and affable, and of easy access, and would lend a ready ear to the complaints, yea, to the impertinencies of the meanest persons. His humility was coupled with an extraordinary piety; and, I believe, he spent the greatest part of his time in heaven; his solemn hours of prayer took up a considerable

portion of his life; and we are not to doubt but he had learned of St. Paul to pray continually; and that occasional ejaculations, and frequent aspirations and emigrations of his soul after God, made up the best part of his devotions. But he was not only a good man Godward, but he was come to the top of St. Peter's gradation, and to all his other virtues added a large and diffusive charity: and whoever compares his plentiful incomes with the inconsiderable estate he left at his death, will be easily convinced that charity was steward for a great proportion of his revenue. But the hungry that he fed, and the naked that he clothed, and the distressed that he supplied, and the fatherless that he provided for; the poor children that he put to apprentice;—and brought up at school, and maintained at the university, will now sound a trumpet to that charity which he dispersed with his right hand, but would not suffer his left hand to have any knowledge of it.

To sum up all in a few words; This great prelate had the good humour of a gentleman, the eloquence of an orator, the fancy of a poet, the acuteness of a school-man, the profoundness of a philosopher, the wisdom of a counsellor, the sagacity of a prophet, the reason of an angel, and the piety of a saint: he had devotion enough for a cloister, learning enough for an universitiy, and wit enough for a college of virtuosi: and, had his parts and endowments been parcelled out among his poor clergy that he left behind him, it would, perhaps, have made one of the best dioceses in the world. But, alas! "Our Father! our Father! the horses of our Israel, and the chariot thereof!" he is gone, and has carried his mantle and his spirit along with him up to heaven; and the sons of the prophets have lost all their beauty and lustre, which they enjoyed only from the reflection of his excellencies, which were bright and radiant enough to cast a glory upon a whole order of men. But the sun of this our world, after many attempts to break through the crust of an earthly body, is at last swallowed up in the great vortex of eternity, and there all his maculæ are scattered and dissolved, and he is fixed in an orb of glory, and shines among his brethren-stars, that, in their several ages, gave light to the world, and turned many souls unto

righteousness; and we that are left behind, though we can never reach his perfections, must study to imitate his virtues, that we may at last come to sit at his feet in the mansions of glory; which God grant, for his infinite mercies in Jesus Christ! to whom, with the Father, through the Eternal Spirit, be ascribed all honour and glory, worship and thanksgiving, love and obedience, now and for evermore. Amen.

CORRESPONDENCE

WITH

MR. HENRY JEANES,

OF CHEDZOY,

CONCERNING

A PASSAGE OF DR. JEREMY TAYLOR,

IN HIS

FURTHER EXPLICATION OF ORIGINAL SIN:

ADDRESSED TO MR. T. C., &c.

TO THE UNPREJUDICED READER.

I SHALL only give thee a brief narrative of the occasion of the ensuing letters: one Mr. T. C. of Bridgewater, being at my house, brake out into extraordinary (that I say not excessive, and hyperbolical) praises of Dr. Jeremy Taylor; I expressed my concurrence with him in great part; nay, I came nothing behind him in the just commendations of his admirable wit, great parts, quick and elegant pen, his abilities in critical learning, and his profound skill in antiquity: but notwithstanding all this, I professed my dissent from some of his opinions which I judged to be erroneous, and I instanced in his doctrine of 'Original Sin.' Now his 'Further Explication' of this lay then casually in the window (as I take it); which hereupon I took up, and turned unto the passage now under debate, and showed unto Mr. T. C. that therein was gross nonsense, and blasphemy; he, for his own part, with a great deal of modesty, forthwith declined all further dispute of the business, but withal he told me, that he would, if I so pleased, give Dr. Taylor notice of what I said; whereunto I agreed, and in a short time he brought me from the Doctor a fair and civil invitation to send him my exceptions, and with it a promise of a candid reception of them; whereupon I drew them up in a letter unto Mr. T. C., the copy whereof followeth.

DR. TAYLOR, *in his 'Further Explication of the Doctrine of Original Sin,' page* 496.

THAT every man is inclined to evil, some more, some less, but all in some instances, is very true; and it is an effect, or condition of nature, but no sin properly; 1. Because that which is unavoidable, is not a sin; 2. Because it is accidental to nature, not intrinsical and essential; 3. It is superinduced to nature, and is after it, &c.

CORRESPONDENCE

WITH

MR. HENRY JEANES.

Addressed to Mr. T. C.

SIR,

I HAVE here, according unto your desire, sent you my exceptions against that passage in Dr. Taylor, concerning which you discoursed at my house; it is in his 'Further Explication of the Doctrine of Original Sin,' p. 496, and it is the second argument, which he brings to prove; that inclination to evil is no sin properly; because it is accidental to nature, not intrinsical and essential. The argument, put into form, may be reduced into two syllogisms.

The first:

Sin, properly, is not accidental to the nature of man.

An inclination to evil is accidental to the nature of man: Therefore,

An inclination to evil is no sin properly.

A second syllogism is,—

Sin, properly so called, is intrinsical, and essential to the nature of man.

An inclination to evil is not intrinsical, and essential to the nature of man: therefore,

An inclination to evil is not sin properly so called.

Unto the first of those syllogisms, I answer that the major is false; and that, according to Porphyry's so celebrated definition of an accident:

'Accidens est quod adest, et abest sine subjecti interitu:' that is, as the best commentators upon Porphyry expound the words,—'An accident is that, which may be affirmed, or denied of its subject, without any repugnancy, or contradiction to the essence, and definition thereof;' now to deny

sin of man, gives no overthrow to his essence and definition; for a man that is no sinner, may be 'animal rationale;' sin, therefore, is accidental to the nature of man.

The major of the second syllogism is no less false, than that of the first; as for the term, 'intrinsical,' I shall not stay upon it; because the doctor useth it as equivalent to essential, as is apparent by the antithesis he puts between it and 'accidental;' but shall wholly insist upon the word 'essential:' to say, as the doctor doth by consequence, that 'sin is essential to the nature of man,' is an assertion, guilty of nonsense, blasphemy, and libertinism.

1. Nonsense. A thing may be said to be essential unto another, either 'à priori,' and then it is predicated of it, 'in primo modo dicendi per se;' or else 'à posteriori,' and then it is predicated of it, 'in secundo modo dicendi per se.' And to say that sin is either of these ways essential to the nature of man, is such pitiful and prodigious nonsense, as that I cannot think it worthy of any serious refutation.

In a second place, I charge it with blasphemy: it blasphemes three actions, three acts of God.

1. The creation of man. 2. The incarnation of Christ. 3. The full glorification of the saints at the resurrection.

1. The creation of man: God was the author of whatsoever was essential unto man; and if sin be essential unto the nature of man, then God was the author of sin.

2. The incarnation of Christ: in which God made Christ like unto man in essentials; if sin, then, be essential unto the nature of man, God made Christ sinful; a blasphemy that I tremble to mention.

3. This opinion blasphemes God's full glorification of the saints in the resurrection; for it affirms, by just consequence, that they shall be raised with sin; because, doubtless, they shall be raised with whatsoever is essential to the nature of man.

In the third and last place, this tenet is chargeable with libertinism: it is a licentious doctrine, and opens a gap to the greatest profaneness: for it takes away all conscience of sin, all repentance of it for the time past, all caution against it for the future: if sin be essential to the nature of man, what reason hath he to be humbled for it? to ask God' pardon for it? to make any scruple of the committing of it?

And thus having briefly performed my promise, and satisfied your request, I shall rest

Your affectionate friend, and humble servant,

HENRY JEANES.

Before the receipt of this, Mr. T. C. gave an account unto Dr. Taylor of what he remembered in our discourse, and received from him an answer, which he concealed from me until the delivery of my paper, and then he produced it. This answer, together with my reply thereunto, I shall next offer unto thy consideration.

To his respected Friend, Mr. T. C. these, &c.

Mr. C.

I thank you for your letter, and friendly information of Mr. Jeanes's exception; but if he had been as careful to understand as he was forward to object and mistake, he had eased you and me of this little trouble. He objects that I say, that 'inclination to sin is no sin, because it is accidental, not intrinsical and essential:' and he gives reason why such a reason is absurd. To all which I return this soft answer, that he says true, but nothing to the purpose. For the thing that I was to prove then, was the precedent word: that 'every man is inclined to evil, some more, some less:' that is, that this inclination to evil is not regular and uniform, and, therefore, not natural: for, as for the other clause, it is an effect or condition of nature, but no sin properly, that was the less principal part of the proposition, and to it only the first reason was apportioned, viz. that which is unavoidable is not a sin. But if he had considered the business I was then upon, he must needs have seen that I was explicating that clause of the church article, 'and is inclined to evil,' which, I was to say, was an inclination not natural, not intrinsical, not essential, but accidental. And this thing I pursue, and to this all the other reasons relate to the end of that section; and none of them, the first only excepted, relates to the latter part of the proposition, which if I had left out, and the reasons relating to it, the sense had been as complete, and my argument not the worse, and my discourse no less pertinent. And unless he refer the four last reasons,

that is, all after the first, to that clause of the variety of our inclination to evil, he will not only mistake the second reason, but all the rest. Besides this, if Mr. Jeanes had so much ingenuity as he pretends to have logic, he would have perceived, that for me to mean what he says I mean, had been the perfect destruction of all my discourse, and all my intention; for if I had said, that 'nothing could be a sin, but what is intrinsical and essential,' then I had affirmed, that 'not only some sin, but all sin had been natural.' Now my thesis being, that 'no sin, properly such, is natural;' it cannot be imagined that I should mean what he dreams of: it had not been to my purpose, either there or in the whole question. But all the following reasons do so explicate, and fully manifest the meaning of the second, that I wonder how Mr. Jeanes, if he be that person which he would be thought, could mistake it, unless he be also that person he would not be thought. I could say many more things, but this being the truth of the business, and the real purpose of my discourse, I need add no more; but one thing I cannot but add to Mr. Jeanes; that is, since he instances in our blessed Saviour, he must needs allow that concupiscence, taking it for those desires, which are purely natural, and concreated with us, cannot possibly be a sin: because, as Mr. Jeanes rightly observes, whatsoever is natural to man, was in Christ, because he had all our mere nature, but he had not our sin; therefore our mere nature hath no sin: for Christ was in all things like to us, sin only excepted, but he took upon him our nature, and nothing of that was excepted; therefore, our nature, of itself, is not properly sinful: nothing of our constitution is criminal.

Sir; I have given you a fair and easy answer. I pray let Mr. Jeanes have so much conveyed to him, as concerns that part to which he objects: and if he writes any thing against me, let him take notice of this my answer, or else all the world shall take notice of his impertinent and uningenuous dealing: I pray let not this letter go out of your hand, because I have no copy of it, if Mr. Jeanes should be troublesome: but if he be, it will be sufficient to acquaint his neighbourhood with my defence, for what he says, shall go no farther. Sir; I hope you will expound this trouble I put you to in reading a long letter, to my readiness to do you service,

and as a return of those great kindnesses by which you have obliged,

SIR,

Your very affectionate friend, to love and serve you,

London, July 4th, 1657. JEREMY TAYLOR.

POSTSCRIPT.—I hope I have spoken clearly enough in the explicating and untying this knot in the bulrush; but if it be not extremely plain, for your own satisfaction make but the second part of the proposition to be a parenthesis; thus, beginning at "and it is an effect," &c. unto 2. and then the thing is extremely plain, for there the design was only to say and prove, that although man be (more or less, as it happens) inclined to sin, yet his nature is never the more criminal for that: for it is besides his nature, it is accidental to it: not but that it is natural to be inclined to such objects; but that this should be sinful is but in some cases, and it is accidental, and it is because those objects were forbidden, after our nature was given to us. Man is naturally inclined to some things, which are not naturally, but accidentally, sinful.

To his loving Friend, Mr. T. C. these, &c.

SIR,

I HAVE received Dr. Taylor's letter sent unto you, bearing date July 4th. What design you had in concealing of it so long from me, I cannot guess. But if you had delivered it before I had sent you my objections, you would have eased me and Dr. Taylor of some trouble: for I should then have let alone these objections, and have only proved, that I did him no wrong, in charging him with the conclusions, against which these objections were directed; to wit, that no sin is accidental; that all sin is essential, and intrinsical.

Two things he layeth to my charge, want of care to understand him, and disingenuity.

1. Want of care to understand him. 'If he had been,' he saith, 'as careful to understand as he was forward to object and mistake, he had eased you and me of this little trouble.' But if the Doctor had been a man of that ingenuity, which you fame him for, he would have confessed his carelessness in expressing of himself, and not have charged me with want

of care to understand that to be his meaning which I could not understand to be his meaning without offering violence to his words: he propounds two propositions, without any thing but a copulative conjunction interposed between them; and unto the last of these propositions he subjoineth six reasons. Now what rule of logic obliged me to carry the five last of these reasons backwards, and to place them between the above-mentioned propositions, I readily confess myself to be utterly ignorant, and shall be very ready to sit down at the Doctor's feet, and to learn any such rule of him. If the Doctor must have such liberty allowed him to make such unexampled transpositions, he is a very formidable adversary, not to be coped with by mortal wights, who cannot guess, how he will, in an after-game, sever these reasons, that he hath first joined together.

Logic informeth me, that 'secondly' signifies 'a relation of order betwixt itself and firstly.' But now, if two reasons be related unto not one, but several conclusions, I would fain know why one should be the first, and the other the second reason.

Besides, here is a first reason, that hath no second reason following it, relating unto the same conclusion. There goeth a story of an alderman in Oxford, that upon the reading of some records touching something controverted betwixt the town and university, he brake out into this expression; "Unless we can prove king Henry VIII. to be before king Henry VII. the university will have the better of us: but if we can make it good, that king Henry VIII. was before king Henry VII. then there is no doubt but that we shall, in this particular, have a full conquest over the scholars." I take this to be a fable: but, however, give me leave to make application of it unto my present purpose. All the wrong that the Doctor can pretend that I have done him, is because I did not place 'secondly' before 'firstly,' and if he can make it good, that I ought to have placed 'secondly' before 'firstly,' then I must needs confess I have done him a great deal of injury, and shall be ready to ask his pardon; and unless such proof can be made, he must lay the blame upon the confusion, and disorder of his own discourse: but to go on. The Doctor tells us, that this clause "it is an effect, or condition of nature, but no sin properly, is the less principal part

of the proposition:" both clauses then, according unto him, make but one proposition; and this is a great failing against that logic, which the learned have hitherto used; for by that, these two clauses are not parts of one proposition, but several, entire, distinct propositions.

But perhaps he may say, that they make one compounded proposition.

Unto this I shall reply, 1. That a compounded proposition consists ever of simple propositions. Now the last of these clauses, to say nothing of the first, is a compounded proposition itself, for it is an adversative proposition; and, therefore, though these two clauses may make an aggregation of several propositions, yet they can never concur to the composition of one.

2. If both clauses make one compounded proposition, then it is a copulative proposition; because they are knit together by a copulative conjunction. Now a copulative proposition is not true, unless all parts be true; and, consequently it is not proved to be true, unless all parts be proved to be true. Now the Doctor, for the proof of this pretended copulative proposition, jumbleth together six reasons, without any note of distinction to direct the reader unto which part of the proposition, as he calls it, he should apply the several reasons: and whether this proof of a copulative proposition be not illogical, I appeal unto any man that knows any thing in logic.

He informs you, that the first reason is apportioned to be unto the latter part of the proposition, as he calls it, and the five other reasons unto the first part of the proposition. But what precept of logic or grammar I have transgressed, in not making such a distribution or application of his reasons, he doth not acquaint you.

But the Doctor directs you unto two ways for the finding out of his meaning.

The first, to leave out the second clause, and the reason relating unto it. "If I had," saith he, "left out the latter part of the proposition, and the reasons relating to it, my sense had been as complete, and my argument not the worse, and my discourse no less pertinent."

But the second clause being left in, perturbeth and confoundeth the sense, and occasioneth the mistake: and who, I

pray, is to be blamed,—the Doctor, for putting it into the synthesis,—or I, for still keeping it in the analysis of his words? It would be a strange and unheard-of way of analyzing, that a reader should lop off two lines, at a time, of an author. But it should seem, we are to make such defalcations to make your great Doctor speak sense: only I would know by what warrant and obligation.

"A second way, which will make it extremely plain," as he tells you in the postscript, "is to make the second part of the proposition," as he terms it, "and the reason relating unto it, to be a parenthesis."

But, 1. that this was not brought in by way of parenthesis, who is in the fault?

Again, 2. The Doctor hath told us, that 'it is the second part of the same proposition with the foregoing clause;' and if so, then it cannot be inserted as a parenthesis betwixt it and the following proposition.

And besides, 3. If he bring in the words only by way of parenthesis, I would fain know what is to be done with 'secondly;' in this case he must new figure and number his reasons. That which he figureth to be the second reason, must be the first, and his six reasons will prove to be but five.

The second thing that he chargeth me with, is disingenuity. "Besides this," saith he, "if Mr. Jeanes had so much ingenuity, as he pretends to have logic, he would have perceived," &c.

1. As for what he speaks of my pretending unto logic, I think unworthy of any answer, and shall leave it unto the reader to judge of the wit and ingenuity thereof.

2. It is no disingenuous part in me to charge the Doctor with a conclusion, that I prove his words to be guilty of: for as for his meaning, I cannot guess at it but by his words, but I believe the impartial reader will judge it a very high point of disingenuity in the Doctor, not to acknowledge the incommodious structure of his words.

But let us hear wherein my disingenuity consists. "If Mr. Jeanes," saith he, "had so much ingenuity as he pretends to have logic, he would have perceived, that for me to mean what he says I mean, had been the perfect destruction of all my discourse, and all my intention."

If this be all, the Doctor hath no reason to charge me

with want of ingenuity in this particular; for I do very well perceive, that for him to mean, what I say his words hold forth, (for as for any secret and reserved meaning I have nothing to do with,) had been the perfect destruction of all his discourse, &c. But I believe the Doctor's meaning is, that it is an uningenuous part in me, to think it possible, or probable, for him to assert any thing, that is the perfect destruction of all his discourse and all his intention. Now this I utterly deny. I have no such apprehension of the Doctor's infallibility; but take him to be a man as likely to contradict himself as other mortals.

There is one thing more, that the Doctor adds concerning our blessed Saviour, that 'concupiscence, taking it for those desires, which are purely natural and concreative, is no sin, because it was in Christ.'

Unto which I answer, that this is nothing unto the purpose; for the concupiscence in controversy is preternatural, and never created, or concreated by God.

It is an inclination unto evil, and, therefore, irregular and disorderly: it is that which the apostle termeth, "the sin that dwelleth in him[a]," "which made him do that evil which he would not[b]," "which he hated[c]:" "the law of his members warring against the law of his mind[d]:" "the body of this death, from which he desired to be delivered[e]:" and, methinks he should be afraid to ascribe this concupiscence unto Jesus Christ, who was the Lamb of God, "without blemish and without spot[f]," "holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners[g]." And thus I have, according unto the Doctor's desire, taken notice of his answer, and shall not be so hasty as to write any thing against him, but that I shall stay a convenient time, to hear the uttermost that he can say; and when our paper shall be made public unto all the world, I do not doubt but there will be more that will accuse him of incogitancy than me of impertinency. Many ingenious and learned men, and some that otherwise admire the Doctor, have made the same construction of his words that I have, and thought that he here forgat himself. I am informed, that the Doctor, in a letter unto you, tells you, that 'he

[a] Rom. vii. 17. [b] Ver. 19. [c] Ver. 15. [d] Ver. 23.
[e] Ver. 24. [f] 1 Pet. i. 19. [g] Heb. vii. 26.

desires not to be troubled with my trifling logic;' I hope he reviles not logic as trifling, for then I know in what herd of writers to rank him, and should decline him as an irrational adversary, who is an enemy to the very art of reason.

But it is not logic itself, I believe, but my logic, that he thus bespatters; and if it be so, I shall return nothing unto this his censure, but leave you, and others, his admirers, to judge of the humility and ingenuity thereof.

I have heard that the Doctor hath printed a very good Grammar; if he will also publish a Logic, for the better information of such triflers as myself, I do assure you, that I will very diligently peruse it; and if it be more solid, weighty, and serious, than those which I have hitherto read, give him many thanks for it.

As for his last letter, I have not yet had the leisure fully to peruse it, but by that cursory view which I have taken of it, I find it to be as empty of reason, though fuller of passion, as the former. You have given it out that it is unanswerable; but I shall desire you to have a little patience, and if I do not give it a satisfying answer, I shall submit unto what penance you will enjoin me. In great haste, I rest,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

Chedzoy, August 31, 1657. HENRY JEANES.

Mr. C. thought, that the Doctor's letter would supersede all further disputation; but perceiving that I was unsatisfied, and that I intended a replication, he conveyed my objections unto the Doctor, which begat a very angry letter from him, unto which he would not vouchsafe so much as a superscription; but I saw the contents concerned me, and, therefore, unto thee I shall present it, together with my answer thereunto, submitting both unto thy censure, and so shall rest, devoted to thy spiritual service, HENRY JEANES.

SIR,

I understand by my very good friend, Mr. T. C., that you are very much troubled at a passage in my "Further Explication of Original Sin[a]." The words are these: "that every man is inclined to evil, some more, some less, but all

[a] Page 496.

in some instances, is very true, and it is an effect or condition of nature; but no sin properly." The offence you conceive is because one of the reasons I bring to prove it is, 'because it is accidental to nature, not intrinsical and essential.' Upon this you fancy that I intend, that 'all sin is intrinsical and essential to nature;' which, indeed, if I had said, I had been as very a fool as you conceive me, and worse; for, besides the reasons you are pleased to object, which I am no way by this concerned to examine, I had destroyed my main intention, nay, that which I was proving in that very place; for my work there was to prove, that 'no sin is or can be natural.'

Now then, although I know you could easily have understood what I did, and must, mean there; yet, because you are pleased not to do it, I will point it out to you. 'To be inclined to evil is an effect or condition of nature; but no sin properly,' *viz.* of nature; for that is the subject of the question: 'whether inclination to evil be an effect of nature, or an inherent principle of evil; a sin natural and necessary.' Now that it is not this; I do suppose that reason, which you so misconstrued competent, *viz.* it is not a natural or necessary sin, not 'a sin of our nature, because it is accidental to nature, not intrinsical, not essential.' If it be in our nature, it must be naturally inseparable, it must be at first, it must be in all persons, that have our nature. And this is my meaning; and that you may not be troubled at the word 'essential,' I mean it not in the strict physical, but in the moral sense; that which is not after our nature, but together with it in real being: and I explicate it by intrinsical; I oppose it to 'accidental,' in this reason; and to 'superinduced,' in the next. Sir, I did give an account to Mr. C. in a letter to him, which I know was sufficient, and ἔξω σίλους; for 'cujus est loqui, ejus est interpretari;' I told you perfectly what is my meaning; it is very plain, by the whole design of that, that it must be my meaning; it is also clear enough, and very easy in the expression; and, therefore, I now appeal to your ingenuity, whether you ought to have made such tragedies with that which common sense would have made plain to you, unless you had received a prejudice.

And now, Sir, to your two syllogisms: be pleased to the subject of the two majors, to add but this qualification,

'natural,' and try if those horrid consequents will follow which you affixed to your own φαινόμενοι.

But I shall, for this once, consider the particulars.

1. You charge it with nonsense; but, with your favour, you prove it most pitifully; your reason is, that to say 'essential' is predicated of sin in either of the two ways, 'dicendi per se,' is such pitiful and prodigious nonsense, that you think it not worthy of any serious refutation: so that this is your argument, 'to say that sin is essential, is prodigious and pitiful nonsense; therefore, it is prodigious and pitiful nonsense,'—surely a good argument: or thus, 'that which is such nonsense that you think not worthy of refutation, is certainly nonsense: but to say that sin is essential, is such nonsense that you think not worthy of refute; therefore, it is nonsense.' I do not say your argument is nonsense, but I am sure it is no argument, unless a bold affirmative be a sufficient proof in your logic. But to the thing; that sin is essential is indeed false to say, but to say so is not nonsense. And whereas you will suppose me to say so, you are uncharitable, and something unreasonable in it; for I was to prove that inclination to sin was not a sin of our nature, as was pretended, because what was natural is intrinsical and essential, as docibility to man; which because to be inclined to sin is not, therefore, it is not a sin, viz. of nature.

In the next place, you charge this with blasphemy. If I had said or meant what you pretend, you had reason. But, then, pray consider how your charge will return really upon yourself. For if it be blasphemy to affirm God to be the author of sin, then what I derived from Adam, is no sin; for that Adam's sin should descend upon me, I demand, who was the author of that? If you please, you may take time to consider it; but in the interim, if you be pleased to read a little discourse of mine, called "Deus justificatus," you shall find my question not to be answered by you, if you have any regard to the authority or to the reason of Mr. Calvin, Dr. Twiss, and some other bigots of your party. Your second charge of blasphemy is, that 'my reason does, by implication, involve Christ in the guilt of sin; because whatsoever is essential, he had.' But then, if you remember, that I say not that sin is essential, and that I bring the reverse of this very argument against your party and opinion, in some of my late

discourses, you have reason to shake the fire out of your own bosom; not to tell me that I burn. For if inclination to sin be a sin naturally, and derived from our parents, I demand, whether or no, had not Christ all natural desires? If he had not, he was not a perfect man. If he had, then all natural desires are not natural sins; for if you say they be, you are the blasphemer, by the consequence of your affirmative, not I; but God forbid that either of us should. Your third reason also is as pretty. For, first, I demand whether a possibility to sin be not of the nature of man? for that is all I mean by essential. If it be not, how came Adam to sin his first sin? If it be, I ask whether shall the saints in the resurrection be raised up with it or no? If yea, then you blaspheme God's full glorification of the saints in the resurrection, for impeccability is certainly a part of their full glorification; if nay, then it is no blasphemy to say, that in the resurrection the saints shall be raised up without something that is essential to them, or of their nature. But, sir, what think you of mortality? Is that essential, or of the nature of man? I suppose you will not deny it. But yet I also believe you will confess, that though we are sown a corruptible body, yet we shall be raised an incorruptible; and the mortal shall put on immortality. Once more, is it natural to be natural? That will not be denied; but then remember, that although to be natural is essential, that is, of the essence of the body, yet the natural body shall rise without its naturality,—it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual. So that, you see, if I had said this which you charge upon me, which is so contrary to my thoughts, and so against my purpose, yet your arguments could not have overthrown it. It is good advice, οὐ σχετλιάζειν καὶ βοᾶν, πρὶν ἂν μάθῃς. If you had been pleased to have learned my meaning, before you had published your dislike, I should have esteemed myself obliged to you in a great acknowledgment: now, you have said very much evil of me, though I deserved it not. For suppose I had not prosperously enough expressed my meaning; yet you, who are a man of wit and parts, could easily have discerned my purpose and my design; you could not but know and consider too, that my great design was to say, that sin could not be natural; that it is so far from being essential, that it is not so much as

subjected in our common nature, but in our persons only. But besides this, sir, I am a little to complain of you, that when you had two words at your choice to explicate each other, 'intrinsical' and 'essential,' you would take the hardest and the worst sense, not the easiest and most ready: for you cannot but know that 'essential' is not always to be taken in the strictest sense of philosophy, or that which is constitutive of a nature; but largely and for all sorts of proprieties, and the universal accidents of nature; as it is essential to man to laugh, to be capable of learning, to be mortal, to have a body of contrary qualities, and, consequently, by nature corruptible; and, in a moral discourse, to call for metaphysical significations, and not to be content with moral and general, may proceed from an itch to quarrel, but not from that ingenuity which will be your and my best ornament.

Although I have not much to do with it, yet because you are so great a logician, and so great an admirer of that, which every one of your pupils knows I mean, Porphyry's definition of an accident; I care not if I tell you, that the definition is imperfect and false — it is not convertible with the 'definitum.' For even essential things may be taken away, 'sine interitu subjecti.' I instance, to be quantitative is essential to a body, and to have succession of duration; but yet in the resurrection, when bodies shall be spiritual and eternal,—those other, which are now essential predicates, shall be taken away, and yet the subject remain, and be improved to higher and more noble predicates. This I have here set down, not that I at all value the problem whether it be so or no; but that you may not think me a Socinian, particularly in this article, or that I think the bodies in the resurrection shall be specifically distinct from what they are: I believe them the same bodies, but ennobled in their very beings: for to a specifical and substantial change, is required that there be an introduction of new forms; but yet the improving of essential predicates is no specification of subjects, but melioration of the first: but the consequent is, that 'abesse' and 'adesse,' &c. is not an excellent definition of an accident. And yet further, it follows, that if sin were as essential to a man as mortality is, or to be quantitative, yet there is no more need that a man should rise with sin than with mor-

tality: but Aristotle's philosophy and Porphyry's commentary are but ill measures in theology; and you should do well to scour bright that armour in which you trust, which unless it be prudently conducted, it will make a man a sophister, rather than a theologue; but you are wiser. I have only this one thing to add, that the common discourses of original sin make sin to be natural, necessary, and unavoidable; and then may not I use your own words? "This tenet is chargeable with libertinism: it is a licentious doctrine, and opens a gap to the greatest profaneness: for it takes away all conscience of sin, all repentance of it for the time past." If sin be natural, necessary, and unavoidable, as it is to us, if we derive it from Adam, &c. what reason hath he to be humbled for it, and to ask God pardon for it? So that you have done well against your own opinion; and if I had not used the argument before, I should have had reason to thank you for it: now, as it is, you are further to consider it, not I. Sir, though I have reason to give you the priority in every thing else, yet in civility I have far outdone you: you were offended at a passage, which you might easily, but would not, understand; you have urged arguments against me which return upon your own head: the proposition you charge me withal, I own not in any of your senses, nor (as you set it down) in any at all; and yet your arguments do not substantially or rationally confute it, if I had said so. Besides all this, you have used your pleasure upon me, you have reviled me, slighted me, scorned me, untempted, unprovoked: you never sent to me civilly to give you satisfaction in your objections, but talked it in my absence, and to my prejudice; yet I have sent you an answer, I hope satisfactorily, and together with it a long letter, which, in the midst of my many affairs, and straitened condition, is more than I can again afford: and after all this, I assure you that I will pray for you, and speak such good things of you, as I can find or hear to be in you, and profess myself and really be,

SIR,

Your affectionate friend and servant,
In our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus,

August 15, 1657. JEREMY TAYLOR.

POSTSCRIPT.—SIR; I received yours late last night, and

I have returned you this early this morning, that I might in every thing be respective of you; but I desire not to be troubled with any thing that is not very material, for I have business of much greater concernment; neither can I draw the saw of contention with any man about things less pertinent. I expect no answer, I need none, I desire none; but expect that you will employ your good parts in any thing rather than in being "ingeniosus in alieno libro:" your talents can better, if you please, serve God, than by cavilling with or without reason.

To the Rev. and Learned DR. JEREMY TAYLOR.

SIR; What you mean by my being very much troubled at a passage in your "Further Explication of Original Sin," I know not; indeed, I expressed unto Mr. T. C. my dislike of it, and charged it with nonsense and blasphemy: and this charge I have proved; and now shall briefly vindicate the proof of it, from your reply, in this my rejoinder. You tell me, that your work in that very place is to prove that no sin is or can be natural. Now, I cannot find any thing sounding that way within forty lines of these words; and that it was my duty to look further for the coherence of them, I confess, I knew not. Another great mistake also, it seems, I have committed; in that I have not so high thoughts of you as to think it impossible, or very unlikely, that you should be so incautious as to drop any contradiction unto your main intention: and this is an error that I can hardly shake off as yet; but I do assure you, that I shall endeavour to have as reverend an opinion of you as I possibly can; only, I shall never exempt you from a possibility of erring; never think that you sit upon a chair made of Irish timber, that cannot endure a venomous spider to hang his web thereon. I shall, for that which followeth, insert the words of your letter verbatim, that the reader may the better compare them and my answer together.

DR. TAYLOR.—Now, although I know you could easily have understood what I did and must mean there, yet because you are pleased not to do it, I shall point it to you.

JEANES.—I wonder why you should think it so easy a

matter to understand your meaning, seeing you, who are the author, differ from yourself in assigning what it is; for in your letter unto Mr. C. you apportioned this second reason solely unto the first clause; "That every man is inclined to evil, some more, some less, but all in some instances, is very true:" and here in your letter to me, you apply it unto the second clause: "It is an effect or condition of nature, but no sin properly." Suppose I were at a loss, yet you have no reason to blame me until you agree with yourself: I have no spectacles to look into your meaning, but your words; and that they were related only unto one proposition, as a reason thereof,—and yet related to two propositions, as a proof of each,—was a thing that I could never possibly divine, nor cannot yet understand; and herein, I am afraid, you are as unable to teach me how this can be, as I am incapable of learning; but if you can teach any such thing unto me, you shall find me, though perhaps not an apt, yet a willing and thankful scholar. But to deal plainly with you, I am very confident that your words, in themselves, hold forth neither of those senses that you propound; and if, by dint of argument, you can prove either of them from your words, you shall have my most penitent and submissive confession of my mistake, and shall have full leave to prescribe me as public and shameful a satisfaction as you can think on; unto which I do promise to conform myself. But let us hear how you point out your meaning to me.

Dr. Taylor.—Yet because you are pleased not to understand what I did, and must mean there, I will point it out to you: to be inclined to evil is an effect or condition of nature, but no sin properly, viz. of nature; for that is the subject of the question, whether inclination unto evil be an effect of nature, or an inherent principle of evil; a sin natural and necessary? Now that it is not this, I do suppose that reason, which you so misconstrued, competent, viz. it is not a natural or necessary sin, not a sin of our nature, because it is accidental to nature, not intrinsical, not essential.

Jeanes.—To rescue your second reason from that which I charge it with, you are fain to make an additional supply unto the proposition; unto which, you say, your second reason is competent. To be inclined to evil, &c. is no sin

properly, no natural and necessary sin, no inherent principle of evil. Now, unto this addition I shall apply your words that you have concerning Binius and Baronius in the like case; whether it may be allowed you by any license less than poetical, let critics judge. Surely, sir, if the most of your writings be thus elliptical, they will be unintelligible unto me without a commentary, and if you must be indulged the liberty of making such interpolations, all the universities in Christendom are no match to dispute with you.

But to insist a little upon the examination of this interpolation.

1. You seem to make equivalent these two propositions: "Inclination to evil is an inherent principle of evil;" "Inclination to evil is a sin natural and necessary:" but I am utterly unsatisfied touching this their equivalency, and shall desire you to clear it up unto me.

Nay, further, I very much question the truth of the first proposition; "this inclination to evil" is not "an inherent principle of evil;" and shall entreat you to inform me, whether you deny it to be a 'principle of evil,' or an 'inherent principle,' and think it only adherent, circumstant, or the like? But I believe you will tell me of some ellipsis in your words, that I ought to understand, and supply something to make out your sense: what it is I will not venture to guess at, but leave it to you to express it yourself.

Secondly; The conclusion that is confirmed by your second reason, is the same with that which is proved by your first reason; and that was, that inclination to evil was no sin, without the additional epithets of natural and necessary. It is no sin, say you, properly, because that which is unavoidable is no sin: and, indeed, the unavoidableness of our inclination to evil may be a probable argument that it is no sin, and require an answer; but no competent reason at all to prove it not to be natural and necessary: but seeing you say, it must be your meaning that these epithets should be interposed, we will for once suppose it, for disputation' sake, and see whether we can understand, by any means, what you would have.

1. You say your meaning in your conclusion is, that "inclination to evil is no sin," viz. of nature, which I shall

consider anon, when I shall come to examine that subtilty of yours, " That sin is not so much as subjected in our common nature."

2. Let us inquire what you mean by ' natural ' and ' necessary.'

1. What you mean by ' natural.' There be divers significations of the word natural, which are impertinent to our present discourse, and, therefore, I shall omit them. I suppose that you take natural either for that which is so termed, in regard of connexion with our nature, or else in respect of physical and necessary resultancy from our nature.

If you take it for that which is so termed, in regard of connexion with our nature, which is coeval with our nature, derived unto us in the nativity and conception of our nature, then your second reason is tautological, a most pitiful and miserable begging of the question; for you tell us afterward, that by ' essential ' you mean that which is not after our nature, but together with it in real being; and then there will be no more difference betwixt essential and natural, in this acceptation of it, than there is betwixt ' ensis' and ' gladius,' and so your argument explained will stand thus:

Inclination to evil is not connexed with our nature, because it is not connexed with our nature; it is not coeval with our nature, derived unto us in the conception and nativity of our nature, because it is after our nature, and not together with it in real being.

2. If you take natural, in regard of necessary resultancy from our nature, then your argument is impertinent, and concerns not those whom you oppose; for they deny, as well as you, that inclination unto evil is natural in such a sense: let two speak for all.

First; Bishop Davenant, in his ' Determinations,' where his determination of the sixteenth question is, " Pronitas ad malum non fluit ex principiis naturæ integræ."

The second is Dr. Baro, in his ' Metaphysics,' page 256, " Theologi nostri asserunt, concupiscentiam nullo modo esse quid necessario consequens naturam humanam in se spectatam; et ideo dicunt eam esse quid superadditum, et adventitium, in animo hominis existens post lapsum."

But, perhaps, you may pitch upon some other acceptation of natural; if you do, I shall beseech you not to chide me,

but to certify my mistake by explication of your meaning; for I have done my best to bolt it out, and must needs profess, that I cannot guess at any other signification of natural, which you can, here in this place, with any probability, pretend unto: but if you can acquaint me with any other, when I know it I shall be ready to examine it.

But to proceed unto the next epithet, "necessary." When you said, that an inclination to evil was not properly a sin, your meaning was, you say, that it was not a necessary sin.

But then I desire to know how your first reason will be suited unto this conclusion, for your first reason stands thus, 'because that which is unavoidable, is not sin;' and I would entreat you also to inform us, what is the difference here betwixt necessary and unavoidable; for if there be no difference, I shall shrewdly suspect your arguments sick of that infirmity called "petitio principii."

But perhaps we must here make the like supply, and understand you thus, 'because that which is unavoidable, is not a necessary sin;' if so, your argument, reduced unto form, will run thus:

Nothing that is unavoidable, can be a necessary sin: but an inclination to evil is unavoidable; therefore it is not a necessary sin.

Unto your major I say, that though unavoidableness, in one sense, may carry a repugnancy unto sin, yet not to necessary; it may prove a thing not to be a sin, but it makes nothing against its being necessary; for that which is unavoidable, may be, and is necessary; it is probable, therefore, that necessary was never in your first thoughts, but put in, to secure your second reason from mine objections against it.

However, yet I shall here propound and apply a distinction of necessary usual among your antagonists: a thing[a], say they, may be said to be necessary, in regard of either primitive and created, or consequent and contracted necessity.

If you speak of that, which is necessary with that necessity, which is primitive and created, then indeed I grant

[a] Dr. Edw. Reynolds's Three Treatises, p. 209.

your conclusion true, and your second reason competent unto it: inclination unto evil is not a necessary sin, in regard of a primitive and created necessity.

But now this were utterly besides the main of your intention; for here you would fight with nothing but your own shadow, because your adversaries do not avouch such a necessity in our inclination to evil, but defy and abhor it more than yourself; and you cannot affix any such thing unto them, unless you grossly calumniate them.

If you speak of that which is necessary, with a consequent and contracted necessity,—then your conclusion is false, and your second reason no confirmation thereof; if it be put into form, it will make up two syllogisms.

The first syllogism.—Nothing that is accidental, can be a sin necessary, with a consequent and contracted necessity.

But our inclination to evil is accidental.

Therefore it is not a necessary sin in respect of a consequent and contracted necessity.

The second syllogism.—Every thing that is necessary in respect of a consequent and contracted necessity, is intrinsical and essential.

But inclination to evil is not intrinsical and essential.

Therefore it is not necessary, in regard of a consequent and contracted necessity.

The major in both syllogisms is evidently false, as will appear when you attempt the proof of them; and I am very confident you never will own them, if you can, any other way, shift off my objections.

In the next place, we have a strange paradox of yours, which I understand not. I shall propound it, and briefly consider it.

Dr. Taylor.—If it be in our nature, it must be naturally inseparable; it must be at first, it must be in all persons, that have our nature.

Jeanes.—I shall not peremptorily charge this proposition with falsehood, until I know how you explicate it, and yet I will tell you what reason I have to suspect it to be very false; divers accidents are in our nature, properly and strictly inherent in our nature, which yet are naturally separable from our nature, which were not at first, which are not now in all persons that have our nature: I might instance

in several acquired habits, and immanent acts of the rational soul, which are neither adequate unto, nor coeval with, nor naturally inseparable from, it.

But I look for some strange ellipsis; a rhetorical scheme, it seems, you are much delighted with; but if you use it too often, it will prove rather a weed than a flower in your rhetoric. You expect, it seems, I should pay such reverence unto your writings, as great critics do unto the ancients, in whose words, when they cannot make sense, they suppose some chasma to fill up, with which they torture their brains; but I have something else to do than to trouble myself with divinations at your meaning: when you vouchsafe to acquaint us what it is, I shall then examine it.

But having seen how ill you have sped in new shaping your conclusion, let us see next whether your success be better in the qualification of your second reason for it.

DR. TAYLOR.—And this is my meaning; and that you may not be troubled at the word essential, I mean it not in the strict physical, but in the moral, sense,—that which is not after our nature, but together with it in real being, and explicate it by extrinsical; and I oppose it to 'accidental' in this reason, and to 'superinduced' in the next.

JEANES.—But, first: Pray who could tell that you thus meant it, until you now tell me? is this a usual and received sense of the word? and if it be, direct me unto those moral philosophers and divines that thus take it; if it be not, my ignorance of it is "puræ negationis," not "pravæ dispositionis," not privative and blamable: "Analogum per depositum stat pro famosiori analogato;" and, therefore, I appeal unto your own ingenuity, whether I have injured you by supposing that you took 'essential' in the accustomed acceptation thereof.

2. I shall beseech you to set down the difference that you make betwixt 'natural' in your conclusion, and 'essential' in your second reason for it; and when you have done this, I am very confident to make it appear, that your argument is either a mere tautology, or an utter impertinency; but of this before.

Next you refer me unto your former letter unto Mr. C.

DR. TAYLOR.—Sir, I did give an account unto Mr. C., in a letter to him, which I know was sufficient, and *the Cases*

JEANES.—The vanity of this brag you will soon acknowledge, when you shall compare that letter with this unto me; for in this you apply the second reason unto the latter clause as a congruent proof, it "is an effect or condition of nature, but no sin properly:" and this you point out to be your meaning, and say, "that I could easily have understood it:" but in your letter to Mr. C. you aver, that this second reason is applicable only unto the first clause; "That every man is inclined to evil, some more, some less," &c., and not at all unto the second; nay, that it is not applicable unto it, without a mistake of not only the second, but the four other reasons also; and of this, too, you say that it must be your meaning, and that it is clear enough, and easy in the expression; and you wonder that Mr. Jeanes, if he be the man that he would be thought, could mistake it. Here you propound inconsistent and contrary meanings; and it seems you intend to tie me unto such hard meat, as that I must find out each to be your meaning; but this is a task, that my understanding cannot perform, and, therefore, I shall beg assistance from the light and learning of yours: and until you afford this, I shall offer unto your consideration this common rule in logic, 'That contrary propositions cannot be both true, but one of them must needs be false:' but these two propositions, this second reason is referred unto the second clause, as a competent proof,—and this second reason is not referred unto the second clause,—are contrary propositions, the opposition betwixt singular propositions being, as Scheibler well showeth [b], most aptly reducible unto contrariety; and yet both these propositions are yours,—the first, in this letter,—the latter, in your former letter; and, therefore, one of them must needs be false. You are not then so much ἐκτὸς βέλους, "extra teli jactum," out of gun-shot, but that my poor trifling logic is able to reach you: if you should deny the matter of fact, that both these propositions are yours, your letters will convince you of untruth, and I shall need no more than to transcribe your own words: the first proposition you have in these words of this letter, "To be inclined to evil is an effect or condition of nature, but no sin properly, viz. of nature, &c. a sin natural and necessary;

[b] De Prop. cap. xi. num. 18.

now that it is not this, I do suppose that reason, which you so misconstrued, is competent," &c. The second, in several passages of your former letter: "As for the other clause, it is an effect or condition of nature," but no sin properly,—that was the less principal part of the proposition, and to it only the first reason was apportioned; and again afterward, none of the other reasons, the first only excepted, relate to the latter part of the proposition. But let us hear your reason for the sufficiency of your letter unto Mr. C.

DR. TAYLOR.—For "cujus est loqui, ejus est interpretari."

JEANES.—I shall willingly grant you all fair liberty of interpreting yourself, so you do it logically and rationally; but that which you expect, is rather a licentiousness than a true liberty of interpretation.

First; You would have a license of transportation, to carry your words where you please; you would have the second reason placed betwixt the two propositions, and before the first reason; thus in your letter to Mr. C.

Next; You usurp the license of interposition, to put in what you please; as when in this letter you add the epithets of 'natural' and 'necessary' to sin.

And, thirdly; You take up a strange license in exposition of your terms; for if you cannot justify what you say, if such a term in your words be taken in the common and usual sense: then you impose upon me an unusual, that I say not a new and unheard-of signification thereof. Thus you deal with the word 'essential.'

And, lastly; You assume a license of contradiction, to contradict yourself, to say and unsay; one while to make this your meaning, and another time to make that which is contrary, your meaning; and you think that I am obliged to take these contrary meanings to be both your meanings.

Surely, sir, if you can get a patent for these four licenses, you will, for matter of disputation, be shot-free and invulnerable; your opponents may throw their caps at you, but not an argument of theirs can touch you.

DR. TAYLOR.—I told you perfectly what is my meaning; it is very plain by the whole design of that, that it must be my meaning; it is also clear enough, and very plain, and

very easy in the expression; and, therefore, I now appeal to your ingenuity, whether you ought to have made such tragedies with that, which common sense would have made plain unto you, unless you had received a prejudice.

JEANES.—As for this triumphant appeal which you make in the close here to my ingenuity, I need say nothing, but refer unto the premises; only I cannot but give one advertisement unto your disciples, that you sometimes triumph when you have not conquered.

DR. TAYLOR.—And now, sir, to your two syllogisms: be pleased to the subject of the two majors, add but this qualification, 'natural,'—and try if those horrid consequents will follow, which you affixed to your own φαινόμενον.

JEANES.—I have already considered with how little sobriety you have added this qualification of 'natural,' and, I believe, the impartial reader will conclude with me, that you have foisted it in upon second thoughts, only to avoid those horrid consequents, unto which your words in themselves are liable.

DR. TAYLOR.—But I shall, for this once, consider the particulars. 1. You charge it with nonsense; but, with your favour, you prove it most pitifully: your reason is, that to say 'essential' is predicated of 'sin,' in either of the two ways "dicendi per se," is such pitiful and prodigious nonsense, that you think it not worthy of any serious refutation: so that this is your argument, 'To say that sin is essential, is prodigious and pitiful nonsense; therefore, it is prodigious and pitiful nonsense.'

Surely a good argument; or thus, that which is such nonsense that you think not worthy of refutation, is certainly nonsense: but to say that sin is essential is such nonsense that you think not worthy of refutation, therefore it is nonsense. I do not say your argument is nonsense, but I am sure it is no argument, unless a bold affirmative be a sufficient proof in your logic. But to the thing; that sin is essential is indeed false to say, but to say so is not nonsense. And whereas you will suppose me to say so, you are uncharitable, and something unreasonable in it; for I was to prove, that inclination to sin was not a sin of our nature, as was pretended,—because what was natural, is intrinsical and

essential: as docibility to a man, which because to be inclined to sin is not, therefore it is not a sin, viz. of nature.

JEANES.—First; Here is a gross and egregious falsification of my words, and that without any advantage to your cause. Your reason is, say you, that to say—essential is predicated of sin in either of the two ways, "dicendi per se," is such pitiful and prodigious nonsense, that you think it not worthy of any serious refutation.—Whether these words be justifiable or no, I need not inquire; for there are no such words in my paper; neither can you, with all your wit and learning, infer any such matter therefrom.

Secondly; To make sport for your followers, you misrepresent my argument, and first clap it into a single enthymeme, and then into one syllogism, both of your own forging; in both which you leave out two mediums that are in my argument, which, reduced unto form, will make up two syllogisms. To convince you of this unfair, injurious, and disingenuous dealing, I shall insert my words at large. "To say (as the Doctor doth by consequence) that sin is essential to the nature of man, is an assertion guilty of nonsense; a thing may be said to be essential to another, 'à priori,' and then it is predicated of it 'in primo modo dicendi per se;' or else 'à posteriori,' and then it is predicated of it 'in secundo modo dicendi per se.' And to say that sin is either of these ways essential to the nature of man, is such pitiful and prodigious nonsense, as that I cannot think it worthy of any serious refutation."

The learned reader will soon perceive how little alliance your enthymeme and syllogism have with my argument; and to him I appeal, to judge of the unworthy and unscholarly injury that you have herein done me; but yet, for the eternal stopping of your mouth, I shall analyze this my argument. My conclusion was, that to say (as you do by consequence) that sin is essential unto the nature of man, is an assertion guilty of nonsense; this I prove from a distribution of essential; whatsoever is essential is such, either 'à priori,' or 'à posteriori.'

But to say that sin is essential, either 'à priori' or 'à posteriori,' is nonsense.

Therefore, to say that sin is essential to man, is nonsense.

This syllogism is grounded upon a known and received maxim, 'Negatis cunctis partibus subjectis totius universalis de aliquo subjecto, negatur ipsum totum universale; negatis cunctis membris dividentibus, negatur ipsum divisum.'

The major, I presumed, none would deny; and as for the minor, that I proved from a description of both ways of being essential.

That which is essential to a thing, 'à priori,' is predicated of it in 'primo modo dicendi per se;' that which is essential to a thing, 'à posteriori,' is predicated of it in 'secundo modo dicendi per se.'

Now to say that sin is predicated of man, is either 'primo,' or 'secundo modo dicendi per se,' is nonsense: therefore, to say that sin is essential to man, either 'à priori,' or 'à posteriori,' is nonsense.

The major I thought undeniable, and as for the minor, here indeed I stopped too in the proof thereof, as thinking all further proof of it needless; because I took it, and still do take it to be, 'propositio per se nota,' which needs no proof, but a bare explication of its terms; 'propositio per se nota dicitur, quæ non est nota per aliud,' as Lychetus; 'quæ suis tantum terminis cognoscibilis,' as Collegium Conimbricense gather out of Aristotle; 'quæ tales terminos habet, ut ii rectè intellecti possint causare evidentem notitiam totius propositionis sine addito; omnis propositio hactenus est per se nota, ad quam evidenter cognoscendam intellectus non postulat aliquod medium, sed solum terminorum penetratione contentus est;' so Scheibler.

Now, for the terms of the minor proposition: I presumed, that all explication of them was needless unto a scholar of so great a repute as Dr. Taylor: and, therefore, without more ado, I inferred, that to say that sin is either of these ways essential, either 'à priori,' or 'à posteriori,' is such pitiful and prodigious nonsense, as that I could not think it worthy of any serious refutation. And now, sir, I shall entreat you to review my argument, being thus truly analyzed, and I shall appeal unto your conscience, when you are next upon your knees before God, whether you have not deeply wronged me, to represent my argument thus defectively (that I say not falsely), on purpose, I am afraid, to render it and me ridiculous. Suppose any man should be so absurd, as to say, that

a stone is animal; and I to refute him should thus argue, 'Omne animal est aut homo,' who is endued with reason, as well as sense; or 'brutum,' which is endued with sense, but not with reason; but to say that a stone is either 'homo,' or 'brutum,' is such pitiful and prodigious nonsense, as that I cannot think it worthy of any serious refutation. Now he that shall say, this is no argument, but only a bold affirmative, —will go a degree beyond boldness; for it is plain, that here are couched and implied two mediums. First, a distribution of 'animal in hominem et brutum:' next, a description of each member of the distribution, and my argument is exactly paralleled unto this. But, sir, though I thought, that, before you, I might have spared my labour to prove, that it is nonsense to say that is essential unto man, either 'à priori,' or 'à posteriori;' that it is predicated of man, either 'in primo,' or 'secundo modo dicendi per se;' yet, because you seem to blame mine omission of such proof, I shall now give you herein, I hope, sufficient satisfaction.

First, To say that that which is privative is positive, is nonsense: but to say that sin is essential unto man, either 'à priori,' or 'à posteriori,' is to say, that that which is privative is positive: for the essentials of man are positive, and the formality of sin is a privation.

Therefore, to say that sin is essential unto man, either 'à priori,' or 'à posteriori,' is nonsense.

Secondly, To say, that that which is predicated of man 'per accidens,' is predicated of man 'in primo,' or 'secundo modo dicendi per se,' is nonsense,—because 'prædicatio per se et per accidens,' are opposite ways of predication.

But to say that sin is predicated of man 'in primo,' or 'secundo modo dicendi per se,' is to say, that that which is predicated of man 'per accidens,' is predicated of man 'per se;' for that sin is predicated of man, 'per accidens,' will be questioned by none, who know what 'primus modus dicendi per accidens' is.

Therefore, to say that sin is predicated of man 'in primo,' or 'secundo modo dicendi per se,' is nonsense.

Thirdly, To say, that that which is predicated contingently of man, is predicated necessarily of him, is nonsense.

But to say, that sin is predicated of man 'in primo,' or 'secundo modo dicendi per se,' is to say, that that which is

predicated of man contingently, is predicated of him necessarily, for sin is predicated of man contingently, because man and sin cohere contingently; man might not have been a sinner, and when he shall not be a sinner, he will still be a man; and then *καθ' αὑτὸ*, 'per se est gradus necessitatis.'

Therefore, to say that sin is predicated of man 'in primo,' or 'secundo modo dicendi per se,' is nonsense.

If these arguments satisfy you not, you may command more of me when you please, as also any further enlargement of these.

Yea, but you say, 'that sin is essential, is false to say, but to say so is not nonsense.'

To this I answer, that however it may be sense in grammar, yet it is nonsense in logic; because it is a contradiction; for, in logic, every contradiction, not only express, but that also which is virtual and implied, is nonsense, a bull,—as we usually speak: thus it is nonsense to say, that 'lignum est ferreum;' that a spirit is corporeal; that a body is bodyless, without quantity or extension; that an accident subsists; or that a substance properly inhereth.

Now my three arguments above irrefragably prove, that to say that sin is essential to man, is a contradiction; for it is in effect as much as to say, that that which is privative, is positive; that that which is predicated of man 'per accidens,' is predicated of him 'per se;' that that which is predicated of man contingently, is predicated of man necessarily; and these are gross and palpable contradictions, and, therefore, not only false, but most pitiful and prodigious nonsense.

You accuse me of uncharitableness and unreasonableness, in supposing that you say, that sin is essential unto man; but from this accusation I have sufficiently vindicated myself, by beating you from all your miserable shifts; and unto what I have said herein, I shall refer both yourself and the reader.

Dr. Taylor.—In the next place, you charge me this with blasphemy: if I had said or meant what you pretended, you had reason; but then, I pray, consider how your charge will return really upon yourself; for if it be blasphemy to affirm God to be the author of sin, then what I derived from Adam, is no sin; for that Adam's sin should descend upon me, I demand who was the author of that? If you please,

you may take time to consider it; but, in the interim, if you be pleased to read a little discourse of mine, called 'Deus Justificatus,' you shall find my question not to be answered by you, if you have any regard to the authority or to the reason of Mr. Calvin, Dr. Twisse, and some other of the bigots of your party.

JEANES.—1. Here you tempt me to a digression; and you may, with as good reason, call upon me to answer all the reproaches that Bellarmine, in this particular, throweth upon the protestant churches, and some of the most eminent members thereof, as propound this question unto me.

2. However, yet I briefly answer to it, that Adam was the author of the descent of his sin upon me, not God; for to be the author of sin is to be a deficient culpable cause thereof, and it is impossible that God should be defective in a culpable manner; and that our doctrine of original sin maketh him to be such, you may boldly affirm, but can never prove.

3. Bishop Davenant, in the doctrine of original sin, is one of our party, and he speaks that which will abundantly satisfy your demands, in his Animadversions upon Hord[c]. 'It was not,' says he, 'God's absolute decree of preterition, but Adam's voluntary act of rebellion, which brought sin, and the guilt of sin, upon himself and all his posterity, God having justly decreed that Adam's children should participate with him in his state of righteousness, did as justly decree that they should also participate in the state of sin.'

'If this author deny the propagation of sin from Adam, he must acknowledge himself a Pelagian, &c.' 'His whole discourse concerning original sin, and the propagating thereof unto all mankind, is erroneous, in that he falsely presumeth, that the divine decree must needs be effective or causative of all the events decreed; whereas if the events be actions sinful, God's decrees are permissive, and ordinative, not decrees of causing, much less necessitating such evil actions; as hath been often told him.'

4. I have seen your little discourse, called 'Deus Justificatus,' and must say of it as Florus did of the Ligurians[d]: 'Major aliquanto labor erat invenire quam vincere.' The

[c] Pag. 323, 324. [d] Lib. ii. c. 3.

rhetoric of it is so rank, as that it will be a very hard matter to find out the logic and reason that is in it.

If you please to put your arguments into form, you then may command me to consider them; but otherwise, I shall be very loth to adventure upon any thing of yours; for I find, by this present debate, about two or three lines, that I shall not, without great difficulty, search out what is your meaning.

5. I wonder why you say, that by this discourse I shall find your question not to be answered by me; why, pray, sir, could I answer it before you propounded it? But your meaning is, I suppose, that I shall find, that your question cannot be answered by me: but the event will try that.

6. That which you mean in Mr. Calvin and Dr. Twisse, are, I think, those places which you quote, p. 32 of that your discourse; and then unto the place in Calvin, you have an answer in Dr. Twisse [e], where he clears it from the crimination of Bellarmine: and then for the place in Dr. Twisse, you may gather an answer from that he saith unto Mr. Hord [f], who makes the like objections against him from another place.

7. You are the unmeetest man in the world to upbraid me with the bigots of my party; for the rigid zealots of your party, in your doctrine of original sin, are such whom you may be ashamed to name. Indeed, in this point, there are very few of your party, save the Pelagians of old, and now the worthy divines of the Racovian den, and their followers, unto whom the best and the most learned of Protestants will hardly vouchsafe the name of Christians. The archbishop of Armagh termed them, in a sermon of his that I heard, 'a company of baptized Turks;' and, indeed, Turks and infidels can hardly be greater enemies unto the divine person and nature of Christ, unto his offices and unto his great and glorious work of redemption and satisfaction, than these wretched miscreants are.

Dr. Taylor.—Your second charge of blasphemy is, that my reason does, by implication, involve Christ in the guilt of sin,—because whatsoever is essential, he had; but then, if you remember, that I say not that sin is essential, and that

[e] Vind. Gra. lib. ii. dig. 2. c. 3. pag. 42. [f] Pag. 149, 150.

I bring the reverse of this very argument against your party and opinion, in some of my late discourses,—you have reason to shake the fire out of your own bosom, not to tell me, that I burn; for if inclination to sin be a sin naturally, and derived from our parents, I demand whether or no had not Christ all natural desires? If he had not, he was not a perfect man; if he had, then all natural desires are not natural sins; for if you say they be, you are the blasphemer by the consequence of your affirmative, not I:—but God forbid that either of us should!

JEANES.—First, Here is no retortion of my argument; for none of my party or opinion hold, that inclination unto evil is essential unto man. Flaccius Illyricus maintains, that original sin was the essence, or substance of the soul; but I never heard that his followers were considerable; he hath, I am sure, both papists and protestants, Calvinists and Lutherans, for his opponents; but, perhaps, you confound natural with essential, and make them all one; if you do, your reason will be nothing, but 'petitio principii.'

2. I believe you here play with the equivocation of the word 'natural,' a thing, though it may be tolerated in a sophister, is altogether unworthy of a theologue.

Inclination to sin may be to be said natural, either 'consequutivè,' or 'connexivè.'

That inclination to evil is natural 'consequutivè,' that it flows, and results physically and necessarily from our nature, I flatly deny: and if you can direct me unto any place in your books, where you prove it to be natural in this sense, I shall take it into consideration. Indeed, to say that it is in this sense natural, is to throw a reproach upon God, the author of nature.

But it is natural 'connexivè;' together with our nature derived unto us from our first parents, and yet not in Christ, who had not his nature from Adam in an ordinary way of generation, but was miraculously conceived by the Holy Ghost, and sanctified in the womb of the virgin Mary.

This inclination unto evil is a sinful blemish of our nature, because it is a cause of sin, 'et qualis causa talis est effectus.' "A good tree[s]," saith our Saviour, "cannot bring forth evil

[s] Matt. vii. 18.

fruit." This inclination to evil bringeth forth much evil fruit, and therefore it cannot be good, and consequently it is bad and sinful; and, therefore, could not be in Christ, who, even as man, was the most Holy One of God. Indeed, if Christ had wanted any propriety of man's nature, he had not then been a perfect man; but that inclination to evil is a propriety of our nature, 'scilicet, proprium quarto modo,' you are never able to make good.

But, sir, in good earnest, do you think that Christ was inclined unto evil? if you do not, your discourse of Christ is impertinent; if you do, I shall conclude your opinion to be blasphemous; and unto it shall oppose this following argument.

He in whom dwelled an all-fulness of the Godhead bodily; he in whom dwelled an all-fulness of habitual grace; he who enjoyed the beatifical vision,— was not, could not be, inclined unto evil.

But in Christ dwelled an all-fulness of the Godhead bodily; in him also dwelled an all-fulness of habitual and sanctifying grace; he enjoyed the beatfical vision: —

Therefore, he was not, could not be, inclined unto evil.

The minor will not be denied by any orthodox divine, and we may say the same of the major; for he that shall think that the grace of personal union, the all-fulness of habitual grace, and the beatifical vision, are not sufficient to exclude from Christ all inclination unto evil, will render both his learning and religion too suspected.

But, to put the matter out of doubt, take this following argument for confirmation of the major: there could not be the least inclination unto evil in that person, in whom there was an utter averseness from evil 'in summo gradu;' for of contraries, that which is in a remiss degree, is not consistent with the other in the highest and most intense degree; but, in that person, in whom there was an all-fulness of the Godhead, an all-fulness of habitual grace, and the beatifical vision, there was an utter averseness from evil, and that 'in summo gradu;' and, therefore, impossible that there should be in him an inclination to evil, in the least degree.

The papists extenuate the malignancy of concupiscence as much as may be, affirming that in the regenerate it is no sin, and that it had been in Adam, if he had been created in his

pure naturals; yet they think not so well of it as to ascribe it unto Christ.

Indeed, Durand is accused for speaking somewhat suspiciously this way; but he is contradicted by the generality of the schoolmen; who hold that 'fomes peccati,' concupiscence, was neither 'in actu primo,' nor 'secundo,' in Christ.

1. Not 'in actu primo;' and for this they allege three reasons.

(1.) The absolute perfection of his virtues, and all fulness of grace.

(2.) The perpetual vigilancy and advertency of his reason.

(3.) The government of his human nature and actions, by his divine and infinite person.

2. Not 'in actu secundo,' because in him, the very first motions unto sin would have been voluntary, and consequently sinful.

Unto this purpose Becanus[h] observeth, "that the first motions of concupiscence may be said to be voluntary two manner of ways:

1. Antecedently; when one willingly admits them when he may avoid them:

2. Consequently; when one yields consent unto them after they are crept in. In the former way or manner, they had been voluntary in Christ; because Christ could have avoided them, by reason of the government of the person of the word; if he had not, therefore, avoided them, but willingly admitted them, they had in him been blameworthy."

Dr. Taylor.—Your third reason also is as pretty; for, first, I demand whether a possibility to sin be not of the nature of man? for that is all I mean by essential: if it be not, how came Adam to sin his first sin? if it be, I ask whether shall the saints in the resurrection be raised up with it or no? If yea; then you blaspheme God's full glorification of the saints in the resurrection; for impeccability is certainly a part of their full glorification. If nay; then it is no blasphemy to say, that in the resurrection the saints shall be raised up without something that is essential to them, or to their nature.

[h] Suarez in tertiam partem Thom. disp. 34. sect. 2. Greg. de Valentia, tom. iv. dist. 1. quæst. punct. 3.

[i] Sum. Theolog. Scholast. tom. v. c. 12. quæst. 5. pag. 200.

JEANES.—That possibility to sin is essential unto every rational creature, I grant; and hereupon infer, that it is not separated from the saints in their full glorification: neither shall I fear your charge of blasphemy herein, having the generality of schoolmen, both Thomists and Scotists, and reason too, on my side. Indeed, the saints of heaven do constantly and uninterruptedly shun and decline sin; yet it is an evil possible unto their nature, considered in itself, however they are secured therefrom by their glorified state and condition; for though sin and a fulness of glory be inconsistent, yet it is no contradiction or repugnancy, that their natures, abstractly considered, secluding the consideration of their glory, should be sinful. Yea, but you say, impeccability is certainly a part of the full glorification of the saints; and what is impeccability but an impossibility of sinning? if God then make the saints impeccable, he takes away from them all possibility of sinning.

For answer.

1. There is a twofold impeccability.

(1.) By nature. (2.) By the grace and gift of God.

Impeccability by nature takes away all possibility of sinning; but it is received generally, as a rule among the schoolmen, that a creature cannot be made 'impeccabilis per naturam,' that is, 'such a one as cannot by nature sin.' And, if you please, you may view the proofs thereof in Capreolus[k].

Impeccability, by the gift and grace of God, doth not eradicate the remote power of sinning; but only keeps it from being actuated; and it is this impeccability only, that is part of the saints' glorification.

2. A thing may be said to be impossible, 'sensu diviso,' or 'sensu composito.'

In 'sensu diviso,' it is not impossible, but possible, for the saints in heaven to sin; for that (considered in themselves without the custodient grace of God always underpropping them) they are liable unto sin, the lamentable fall of the angels of darkness is an evident proof.

But now, 'sensu composito,' it is indeed impossible for glorified saints to sin; that is, it is impossible for them to sin, considered under this reduplication, as fully glorified; be-

[k] Lib. ii. dist. 22. quæst. 1.

cause fulness of glory and sin cannot stand together. This answer is in Scotus[1], whose words I shall insert for the sake of some readers who may not have him in their studies: "Respondeo; patet, quòd beatus est impeccabilis in sensu compositionis, hoc est, non potest simul esse beatus, et peccare: sed in sensu divisionis, quòd manens beatus non habeat potentiam et possibilitatem ad peccandum, potest intelligi duplicitèr: vel per aliquid sibi intrinsecum, quod excludit potentiam talem; vel per causam extrinsecam, quod excludit potentiam propinquam ab illo, &c. Nulla est causa intrinseca in voluntate Michaelis nunc beati, per quam excludatur potentia ad peccandum pro aliis, in sensu divisionis; non est autem causa intrinseca prohibens istam potentiam omnino reduci ad actum: sed per causam extrinsecam est impossibilis potentia illa propinqua ad peccandum, videlicet, per voluntatem Dei prævenientem illam voluntatem, ut semper contineat actum fruendi, et ita nunquam possit potentiam suam remotam non fruendi, vel peccandi, reducere ad actum: siquidem nunquam causa secunda, prævenia à causâ superiori agente ad unum oppositum, potest potentia propinqua exire in aliud oppositum. Concedo ergo, quod infert, quod Michael beatus, et sit peccabilis in sensu divisionis, loquendo de potentiâ remotâ."

Dr. Taylor.—But, sir, what think you of mortality? is that essential, or of the nature of man? I suppose you will not deny it. But yet I also believe you will confess, that though we are sown a corruptible body, yet we shall be raised an incorruptible, and the mortal shall put on immortality.

Jeanes.—For answer, I shall propound a distinction of mortality, that is very obvious and ordinary. A thing may be said to be mortal, either 'respectu potentiæ remotæ,' or 'respectu potentiæ propinquæ.'

1. In respect of a remote power of dying, which hath in it the remote cause of dissolution, an elementary matter.

2. In regard of a near power of dying, arising from the actual conflict and corruptive influence of the elements, and their contrary qualities.

The latter mortality is separable, but then it is not essential.

[1] Lib. iv. dist. 49. quæst. 6.

As for the former mortality, which alone is essential, I think very few doubt but that it is also inseparable from the nature of a man's body; for the immortality and incorruption of the bodies of the saints in the resurrection, will not be by taking away out of their bodies the remote causes of corruption, the elements, and their contrary qualities; for then their bodies would not be mixed,—and so not, for substance, the same that they were; but by an hinderance or prevention of the corruptive influence of the elements, and their contrary qualities.

That I am not singular in this, I shall manifest, by transcribing the testimonies of some few schoolmen, who, though they differ one from another in assigning the cause and reason of the impassibility and incorruptibility of glorified bodies: yet they all agree with Durand in this, that glorified bodies are not impassible, 'per privationem potentiæ passivæ, sed per aliquod præstans impedimentum actualis passionis nè fiat.'

The first shall be of Scotus[m], 'Dico ergo quod causa impassibilitatis est voluntas divina non coagens causæ secundæ corruptivæ, et, per hoc, est illud impassibile, non potentia remota, sed propinqua, non à causâ intrinsecâ, sed extrinsecâ impediente, sicut dictum est de impeccabilitate supra, &c. exemplum hujus de igne in camino, qui non egit ad consumptionem trium puerorum, non quidem per aliquam impassibilitatem intrinsecam pueris, nec ex carentiâ potentiæ passivæ, nec ex contrario intrinseco impediente, sed quia Deus ex voluntate suâ non cooperabatur ad illam actionem.'

The second is of Durand[n], 'Restat ergò quod corpora gloriosa non erunt impassibilia, simplicitèr et absolutè, per privationem principii passivi, cùm natura corporum gloriosorum sit futura eadem quæ prius; sed erunt impassibilia per aliquid præstans impedimentum actualis passionis nè fiat.

'Quid autem sit illud, utrum sit aliqua forma inhærens, an solum virtus divina assistens, duplex est opinio: dicunt enim quidam quod talis impassibilitas erit per aliquam formam inexistentem, &c.

'Alius modus est, quod impassibilitas corporum gloriosorum non erit per aliquam formam inhærentem, sed solum

[m] Lib. iv. dist. 49. quæst. 13. [n] Lib. iv. dist. 44. quæst. 4.

per virtutem divinam assistentem beatis ad nutum, et prohibentem actionem cujuscunque extrinseci inferentis passionem.'

This latter way Durand takes himself, and endeavoureth to confirm it by three reasons.

The third shall be of Suarez[o], 'Nam licet in corpore glorioso maneat eadem materia, idemque temperamentum ex qualitatibus contrariis,—inde solum fit, corpus illud in nudâ naturâ suâ consideratum, esse corruptibile, et in beatitudine retinere quasi causam remotam, seu naturalem radicem corruptionis: nihilominus tamen secundum proximam dispositionem intrinsecam esse incorruptibile et impassibile: quia affectum est aliâ quadam perfectione, quæ ex se potest impedire, nè illa naturalis corruptibilitas in actum reducatur.'

DR. TAYLOR.—Once more, is it natural to be a natural? that will not be denied: but then remember, that although to be natural is essential, that is, of the essence of the body, yet the natural shall arise without its naturality; 'it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual.'

JEANES.—1. That that which is natural is natural, will not be denied, as you say; but it is 'propositio identica nugax,' a most trifling tautology; and unto what purpose you propound a question concerning it, I know not.

2. Of things natural unto man, some are natural powers, some are natural acts: natural powers may be and are essential unto the body; and so they are inseparable too: our bodies, when they shall be raised, shall not want so much as one such natural power. But natural acts are accidental, and in the resurrection there may be no place for the exercise of, at least, some of them, *viz.* generation, nutrition, and the like; as touching such things we shall 'be like the angels in heaven,' as it were spiritual.

3. In the apostle[p], it is not σῶμα φυσικὸν, 'a natural body,' but σῶμα ψυχικὸν, an animal or 'souly body,' that is actuated and animated by the soul after a natural way and manner, by the intervention of bodily helps, such as eating, drinking, sleeping, and the like. And in all congruence of opposition hereunto, a glorious body is said to be a spiritual, in regard of an immediate supportance by the spirit, without any cor-

[o] In tertiam part. Thom. disp. 48. p. 531. [p] 1 Cor. xv. 44.

poreal means, and without any use of the generative and nutritive faculties.

DR. TAYLOR.—So that you see, if I had said this which you charge upon me, which is contrary to my thoughts, and so against my purpose,—yet your argument could not have overthrown it.

JEANES.—Whether you do not here boast and triumph without a victory, I am very well contented to refer it unto the learned reader.

Since my penning of my exceptions, sent unto Mr. C., I have read the 'Metaphysics' of Dr. Robert Baro, that learned Scot; and in them I find the like of these three last arguments of mine urged against the error of Flaccius Illyricus; that original sin is of the substance of man, and essential to him after the fall,—a proposition subalternate unto that which I charge you with; his words are as followeth: 'Prima opinio, damnanda et à nostris theologis et à pontificiis, de naturâ peccati originalis, est absurdissima hæresis Illyrici, statuentis peccatum originale esse de substantia hominis, seu esse quid homini essentiale post lapsum. Contra quam sententiam Bellarminus disputans, varias affert rationes: præcipuæ hæ sunt: Primò, sic peccatum esset pars substantiæ humanæ; aut Deus erit autor peccati, quippe qui substantias omnes creavit:—aut si quis neget illam substantiam esse à Deo, cogetur fateri eam esse à diabolo, qui est autor peccati: necessarium enim est, ut habeat aliquam causam; at utrumque consequens est absurdum, ergò et antecedens. Secundò, aut Christus non assumpsit naturam humanam integram, aut peccato non caruit, quorum utrumque est absurdum. Tertio, ad diem judicii natura hominis resurget, et æternam vitam possidebit, saltem quoad electos: Peccatum verò tum nullum erit in glorificatis, ergò peccatum non est quid essentiale, sed quid separabile est ab ipsâ naturâ[q].' These reasons differ so little from mine, as that you may think, perhaps, that I have borrowed mine from either Bellarmine or Baro, which yet I assure you I did not. The reason why now I recite these reasons, is to show, that my arguments are not such weak and pitiful things, but that very learned men have made use of the like, to disprove a

[q] Pag. 248, 249.

proposition subordinate unto that which I go about to refute.

DR. TAYLOR.—It is good advice οὐ σχετλιάζειν καὶ βοᾶν πρὶν ἂν μάθῃς: if you had been pleased to have learned my meaning before you had published your dislike, I should have esteemed myself obliged to you in a great acknowledgement.

JEANES.—Your advice out of Aristophanes, I like very well; I am not conscious unto myself that I have towards you transgressed against it: for before I uttered a syllable of dislike, I used my best endeavour to find out what was your meaning,—and to that purpose, made use of that little logic and reason which I had; and as for that meaning which I affix unto your words, let the reader determine, whether I have violated any rule of logic or reason, in imputing it unto you. What I took to be your sense, together with my objections against it, I sent unto Mr. C. to be transmitted speedily unto you, exposing all unto the utmost severity of your examination; and wherein I have here trespassed against charity or justice, I would fain know.

Besides, my dislike I expressed only in a private place, before very few, in private discourse, and I have not hitherto published it, from either press or pulpit.

DR. TAYLOR.—Now you have said very much evil of me, though I deserve it not.

JEANES.—This I deny, and flatly challenge you to prove what you aver.

DR. TAYLOR.—For, suppose I had not prosperously enough expressed my meaning, yet you, who are a man of wit and parts, could easily have discerned my purpose and my design. You could not but know, and consider too, that my great design was to say, that sin could not be natural, that it is so far from being essential, that it is not so much as subjected in our common natures, but in our persons only.

JEANES.—1. Whether what you say of my wit and parts be not a scorn, I shall not trouble myself to inquire, but leave it unto your conscience: however, I suppose you think yourself far superior unto my poor self in wit and parts, and I also readily acknowledge as much. Now, I wonder why you should think that I should so easily find

out what is your meaning,—seeing you, whose abilities so far transcend mine, be so unprosperous, not only in the expression, but in the after interpretation of your meaning, as that you dissent in a latter letter from yourself in a former letter. How can you reasonably expect that I, who am not (as one of your proselytes lately said) worthy to be named the same day with you (I shall not deny the truth of the comparison, nor envy you the honour thereof), should (as the proverb is) see further into a mill-stone than you, who are so eagle and quick-sighted?

Secondly; Whereas you say, "That sin is not so much as subjected in our common nature, but in our persons only," I doubt that I understand you not; for to me it seems very evident, that sin, so far as a privation can be inherent, is truly inherent in our natures; for it hath all the requisites of inherence, that Aristotle layeth down[r].

1. It is in our nature.

2. Not as a part of our nature.

3. Neither can it exist severed and apart from our natures: sin is seated in all individuals of our nature, whilst living here upon earth, Christ's humanity alone excepted; and, therefore, why may not we say, that it is subjected in our common nature? Seeing those accidents are seated secondarily, and mediately in second substances, which are primarily and immediately placed in their respective first substances; "substantiæ secundæ substant accidentibus gratiâ primarum."

Yea, but you will, perhaps, say 'it is subjected in our persons only, therefore not in our nature:' but this is a very sorry objection: for who knows not the distinction of "subjectum, in subjectum quo, et quod?" our persons only are "subjectum quod" of sin; our natures, notwithstanding, may be "subjectum quo" of it; and we may say the same of other accidents. I find you (page 494) quoting that usual axiom, "actiones sunt suppositorum;" but, if you had considered the limitations that are usually given thereof, you would have spared the urging of it. "Actio est suppositi," saith Scotus, "ultimatè denominati ab actione, sed non ut solius denominati ab ipsa:" but you may have some deep

[r] Categor. cap. 9.

meaning, which I fathom not; fair leave may you take to explain yourself.

DR. TAYLOR.—But besides this, sir, I am a little to complain of you, that when you had two words at your choice to explicate each other, 'intrinsical' and 'essential, you would take the hardest and the worst sense, not the easiest and most ready.

JEANES.—I have here given you, not only no cause, but not so much as any shadow or colour for complaint.

1. I gave a reason why I insisted on the word 'essential' only, and passed by the term 'intrinsical;' because you use 'intrinsical' as equivalent unto 'essential,' as is apparent by your opposing it unto 'accidental:' and have you said, can you say, any thing to the contrary?

2. I would fain know why you should say that 'essential' is a harder word than 'intrinsical;' there is, I am sure, that equivocation in the word 'intrinsical,' which is not in the word 'essential;' for that which is accidental, may be intrinsical, there being intrinsical as well as extrinsical accidents: "Internum et externum," say philosophers, "sumuntur, vel ratione essentiæ, vel ratione loci et subjecti."

DR. TAYLOR.—For you cannot but know, that 'essential' is not always to be taken, in the strictest sense of philosophy, for that which is constitutive of a nature; but largely, and for all sorts of properties, and the universal accidents of nature.

JEANES.—The distinction of essential, into that which is such "constitutivè," as constituting the essence,—or that which is such "consequentivè," as necessarily resulting from the essence,—I very well know: and I grant the proprieties which are such, "quarto modo," which agree "omni, soli, semper," are in this latter sense said to be essential; but that essential is ever taken, as you say, for all sorts of proprieties, those which are such, "primo, secundo," or "tertio modo," is notoriously false; for then essential would be taken for that which is most accidental: but let us examine your instances.

DR. TAYLOR.—As it is essential to a man to laugh, to be capable of learning, to be mortal, to have a body of contrary qualities, and consequently by nature corruptible.

JEANES.—If you should affirm, in the public schools of

either of the universities, that to laugh is essential to man, you would not only be laughed, but hissed and hooted, at: the gross and palpable absurdity of this your assertion, I thus prove.

Nothing that is accidental to man, can be said to be essential to him:

But to laugh is accidental to man:

Therefore it is not essential.

The major is apparent from the opposition, that you yourself make betwixt essential and accidental.

The minor is thus confirmed.

That which is predicated of man contingently, is accidental to man:

But to laugh is predicated of man contingently:

Therefore it is accidental to man.

The major is plain, because contingency of predication is one of the chief things which distinguisheth "accidens prædicabile" from all other predicables, and it is a reciprocal character thereof.

And for the minor, that is no less evident: indeed 'risibile' is essential unto man, and predicated of him in "secundo modo dicendi per se;" but "ridere," to laugh, is accidental, because it is predicated of man contingently; for a man and actual laughter cohere contingently: the lowest degree of necessity in affirmative and essential predications is "de omni;" and "de omni posterioristicum" requireth "universitatem temporis" as well as "subjecti;" that is, "propositio κατὰ παντὸς debet esse semper vera;" now all men do not always laugh; and, therefore, laughter is predicated of man contingently, and consequently accidental to him.

You see, sir, I am bold to trouble you, ever and anon, with my trifling logic, and you can expect no other, as long as you thus trespass against what is most trivial and obvious in logic, the very A. B. C. thereof.

2. As for the second instance, you bring 'capacity of learning:' that is taken for "potentia prima," or "secunda."

1. If it be taken for "potentia prima," then it immediately flows from the soul, and is essential to man, "consequutivè," as a "proprium, quarto modo," of man,—and so it is inseparable from him; but if taken for "potentia secunda,"

so it ariseth from the disposition of the temper and organs of the body, and is not essential, but accidental and separable from man.

As for the third, 'to be mortal,' I have already spoken of that sufficiently.

As for the fourth instance, 'to have a body of contrary qualities' is essential "consequutivè," and "à posteriori" unto an essential predicate of man, viz. a mixt body; and so is essential unto man, and predicated of him "in secundo modo dicendi per se," as a mixt body is predicated of him "primo modo dicendi per se." For, as Scheibler[1] showeth, "Ad prædicationes per se secundi modi pertinent non solum prædicationes illæ, in quibus proprium prædicatur de subjecto suo primo, veluti corpus est quantum, sed etiam illæ prædicationes in quibus proprium prædicatur de speciebus sui primi subjecti, veluti homo est quantus." But this hath no alliance with laughing, for it agreeth always unto all men.

Dr. Taylor.—And, in a moral discourse, to call for metaphysical significations, and not to be content with moral and general, may proceed from an itch to quarrel, but not from that ingenuity, which will be your and my best ornament.

Jeanes.—It hath hitherto been a received rule amongst all logicians, that in mixed questions, the terms of which belong unto several disciplines,—we must, for the explication of each term, have recourse unto the discipline, unto which it appertaineth; and you can say nothing to disprove this rule. Whether inclination to evil be essential to man—is a mixed question; for 'inclination to evil or sin' is a theological term, and 'essential' is a metaphysical term; and, therefore, in taking it in a metaphysical sense, I have done nothing but what logic and reason have prescribed me; and, therefore, I shall not fear your passionate and irrational censure of me for it. To clear this yet further, by instancing in mixed propositions of the like nature: "An formale peccati in genere sit privatio rectitudinis debitæ rationali creaturæ? An formale peccati originalis sit solum privatio

[1] De Prop. cap. iv. n. 41.

originalis justitiæ? An pronitas ad malum fluat ex principiis naturæ integræ? An sacramentum sit ens respectivum? An sacramenta sint causæ physicæ gratiæ?"

Now if here you should be pleased to say, that, "in these questions, to call for metaphysical significations, of 'privatio, principium, ens respectivum,' and 'causa physica,' may proceed from an itch to quarrel, but not from that ingenuity which will be our best ornament," you will bewray but little judgment, and less ingenuity.

2. If that which you call essential in a moral and large sense, do not either constitute the essence, or necessarily flow therefrom, it will, in the upshot, prove to be but accidental; and how, then, comes it that you oppose it unto accidental? But you will, perhaps, tell me, that I must take accidental in a moral and large sense, as well as essential: but, sir, what is there in your words to guide me unto this sense of accidental? I took accidental for the concrete of 'accidens prædicabile,' and so, I believe, have most scholars that have read you; and why it should not be thus understood, I think you can allege no reason, but that you know not otherwise to make any tolerable sense of your words. Your discourse is polemical; and if therein you use philosophical terms, and I call for a philosophical signification of the terms, with what forehead can you accuse me for being quarrelsome and disingenuous? If, when you cannot defend what you say, according unto the proper and usual signification of the words you use, you must have liberty to fly unto large and unusual senses of them — you may say even what you please; for no man will be able to understand what you say, unless he hath a peculiar key unto your writings.

But let us inquire what can be here meant by 'accidental' in a moral and large sense. 'Essential,' you say, in a moral sense, is that which is not after our nature, but together with it; and, in conformity hereunto, accidental, in a moral sense, must be that which is after our nature, and not together with it; and then I shall desire you to awake, and consider whether your second reason be not coincident with your third; for your second reason, as you expound it, stands thus: 'Inclination to evil is after our nature, and not together with it in real being:' and your third reason is this,

'Inclination to evil is superinduced unto nature, and is after it,' &c.

DR. TAYLOR.—Although I have not much to do with it, yet because you are so great a logician, and so great an admirer of that which every one of your pupils knows, I mean Porphyry's definition of an accident,—I care not if I tell you that the definition is imperfect and false.

JEANES.—1. You have, ever and anon, an uncivil fling at my poor logic; but, sir, let me be so bold as to tell you, that as my logic is the object of your contempt, so that my pupils cannot find in that logic, which you manifest in these your papers, matter for either their envy or emulation.

2. Why pray, sir, do you say, that I am so great an admirer of Porphyry's definition of an accident? Indeed, I say, that it is a celebrated definition of an accident; but thereby I signify only, that it is frequently and much used, commonly known, and in every man's mouth; and this acceptation of the word is usual in Cicero, as these instances following evidence: "Celebratur omnium sermone lætitiâque convivium:—hoc delatum est tum ad vos pontifices, post omnium sermone celebratum, quemadmodum iste omnia fecit:—quod ita esse, constanti fama atque omnium sermone celebratum est:—quid porro in Græco sermone tam tritum atque celebratum est, quam," &c.

3. Though you care not to tell me, that Porphyry's definition of an accident is false and imperfect, yet you should have been careful to have brought stronger objections against it than those you have urged, for they contain such gross and absurd untruths, as that every one that understands them, will think you a very incompetent judge of the definitions of Porphyry and Aristotle. Indeed, how far you are to seek in the nature of accidents, appears by your talking of accidents constitutive of a substance, in your 'Discourse of the Real Presence[1],' &c.; but let us hear your objections.

DR. TAYLOR.—It is not convertible with the definitum; for even essential things may be taken away 'sine interitu subjecti.'

JEANES.—For an answer unto this, I shall refer you

[1] Vol. x. page 27, of this edition.

to yourself, in your book, but now mentioned, "Of the Real Presence of Christ in the Holy Sacrament[a]:" "God can do what he pleaseth, and he can reverse the laws of his whole creation, because he can change or annihilate every creature, or alter the manners and essences; but the question now is, what laws God hath already established, and whether or no essentials can be changed, the things remaining the same? that is, whether they can be the same, when they are not the same? He that says God can give to a body all the essential properties of a spirit, says true, and confesses God's omnipotency; but he says also that God can change a body, from being a body to become a spirit; but if he says, that, remaining a body, it can receive the essentials of a spirit, he does not confess God's omnipotency, but makes the article difficult to be believed, by making it not to work wisely and possibly. God can do things; but are they undone when they are done? that is, are the things changed in their essentials, and yet remain the same? then how are they changed, and then what hath God done to them?"

But to come unto your instances.

Dr. Taylor.—I instance to be 'quantitative' is essential to a body, 'and to have succession of duration;' but yet in the resurrection when bodies shall be spiritual and eternal, those other which are now essential predicates, shall be taken away, and yet the subject remain, and be improved to higher and more noble predicates.

Jeanes.—1. As for the first of these instances, it is without doubt, that to be 'quantitative' is essential unto a body 'à posteriori,' and 'consequutive' as a proprium thereof, quarto modo. But,

1. That quantity is separable from a body, was never affirmed by any besides the patrons of either transubstantiation or consubstantiation.

2. If a body were without quantity, it would be without extension, and so would exist in an undivisible point without distinction of parts, and so it would be σῶμα ἀσώματον, "a bodiless body," which is a flat contradiction.

But for refutation of this, I shall refer you to your own self in your "Discourse of the Real Presence[x]," &c.

[a] Vol. x. page 48, of this edition. [x] Vol. x. page 28.

"But I demand, when we speak of a body, what we mean by it? for in all discourses and intercourses of mankind by words, we must agree concerning each other's meaning: when we speak of a body, of a substance, of an accident, what does mankind agree to mean by these words? All the philosophers and all the wise men in the world, when they speak of a body, and separate it from a spirit, they mean, that a spirit is that, which hath no material divisible parts physically,—that which hath nothing of that which makes a body, that is, extension and limitation by lines and superficies." And "when we speak of a body, all the world means that which hath a finite quantity[y]." "That which I now insist upon is, that in a body there cannot be indistinction of parts, but each must possess his own portion or place, and if it does not, a body cannot be a body[z]." Again, "If Christ's body be in the sacrament according to the manner of a substance, not of a body, I demand, according to the nature of what substance, whether of a material or an immaterial? If according to the nature of a material substance, then it is commensurate by the dimensions of quantity, which he is now endeavouring to avoid. If according to the nature of an immaterial substance, then it is not a body but a spirit; or else the body may have the being of a spirit whilst it remains a body,—that is, be a body and not a body at the same time[a]."

Here every material substance, by your opinion, is commensurate by the division of quantity, and, therefore, no material substance can be without the dimensions of quantity. Afterwards you bring in a shift of Bellarmine's[b], unto which you return a very good answer, both which I shall transcribe. "Bellarmine says, that to be coextended to a place is separable from a magnitude or body, because it is a thing that is extrinsical and consequent to the intrinsical extension of parts, and, being later than it, is, by divine power, separable:" but this is as very a sophism as all the rest; "for if whatever in nature is later than the substance, be separable from it, then fire may be without heat, or water without moisture; a man can be without time, for

[y] Vol. x. page 29, of this edition.
[z] Vol. x. page 53.
[a] Vol. x. page 54.
[b] Vol. x. page 46.

that also is in nature after his essence, and he may be without a faculty of will, or understanding, or of affections, or of growing to his state, or being nourished: and then he will be a strange man, who will neither have the power of will or understanding, of desiring or avoiding, of nourishment or growth, or any thing that can distinguish him from a beast, or a tree, or a stone; for these are all later than the essence, for they are all essential emanations from it; thus also quantity can be separated from a substantial body, if every thing that is later than the former, can be separated from it."

When you wrote this, you thought it a gross absurdity to aver that quantity could be separated from a substantial body; when you have answered yourself, I shall then take up the cudgels, and reply unto your answer. In the mean while, I shall consider your argument, by which you endeavour to prove quantity separable from a body.

It stands thus: in the resurrection bodies shall be spiritual; therefore to be quantitative, which is now an essential predicate, shall be then taken away.

For answer:

1. If the bodies of the saints shall be raised without quantity, then without extension, without integral parts, without heads, eyes, arms, legs, feet; and this would be a very pretty and proper resurrection; it would, indeed, be an invisible resurrection: this is a very strange and false assertion, contrary as to the constant tenet of both ancient and modern divinity, so also unto express Scripture. "In my flesh," says Job[c], "shall I see God, whom I shall see for myself, and my eyes shall behold, and not another." The bodies of the saints shall, in the resurrection, be "conformed unto Christ's glorious body[d]:" and that was a visible and palpable body, "it might be seen and felt, it had flesh and bones, and hands, feet, and sides[e]." Tertullian, upon these words of the apostle's, "this corruptible shall put on incorruption,"—hath this gloss, "Quantitativam et eandem numero essentiam digito demonstrat; magis enim expressè loqui non poterat, nisi cutem suam manibus teneret."

[c] Job, xix. 26, 27.
[d] Philip. iii. 21.
[e] Luke, xxiv. 39, 40. John, xx. 27. See Aquin. sup. ad Sam part. sum, &c. quæst. 80. art. 1.

2. As for the spirituality of our bodies in the resurrection, that shall not be destructive of their quantity; for they shall be spiritual, not in regard of substance, but in respect of either immediate supportance by the Spirit, or else resemblance unto a spirit.

1. In respect of immediate supportance by the Spirit without the help of bodily means, meats, drinks, sleep, medicaments, &c., "he that raised up Christ from the dead, shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you[f]." Or else,

2. As others conjecture, in regard of resemblance unto a spirit, as touching some particulars in the resurrection: "they neither marry, nor are given in marriage; but are as the angels of God in heaven[g]."

But that spirituality of the body, in Paul's sense of the word, is no impeachment unto the quantity of it, is evident enough from what you say in your treatise of the "Real Presence," &c.; for therein you rightly aver, that Christ's body is now a spiritual body,—and yet maintain, against the papists, that it is endued with quantity, and hath 'partem extra partem,' 'one part without the other,' answering to the parts of his place.

Your second instance is, to have succession of duration,—this is essential to a body, think you; yet in the resurrection, when our bodies shall be eternal, it shall be taken away.

But here, sir, my poor pupils, because you are so great a metaphysician, care not much if they tell you, that succession in duration is so far from being essential to a body, as that it doth not at all agree thereunto; and they have learned it out of Scheibler[h] and Suarez[i], metaphysicians no ways inferior unto your great self.

Out of them they thus argue: whatsoever hath a successive duration, hath also a successive essence or being;—but now no body hath a successive essence or being;—therefore, no body hath a successive duration.

The major is evident, because, as Suarez and Scheibler

[f] Rom. viii. 11. [g] Matt. xxii. 30.

[h] Metap. lib. i. cap. 16. n. 48, 53, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99; cap. 19. n. 9, 10, 11, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35.

[i] Disp. 50. sect. 5, and 7.

well prove, the duration of a thing is not distinguished from the actual existence thereof, really, but only 'ratione ratiocinatâ.'

And then for the minor, it may be thus confirmed; Whatsoever hath a successive essence or being, hath the parts of its essence 'in fluxu,' so that it is partly past, partly present, and in part to come; but no such thing can be affirmed of any body, and, therefore, no body hath a successive essence or being.

Or thus: No permanent being hath a successive being or essence;—but every body is a permanent being;—therefore no body hath a successive being or essence.

The minor, that alone asks proof, may be thus confirmed: Whatsoever hath all the parts of its essence or being together, so that in no moment of time, there is wanting unto it any thing requisite unto its essential integrity,—that is a permanent being;—but every body hath all the parts of its essence or being together, so that in no moment of time, there is wanting unto it any thing requisite unto its essential integrity;—Therefore, every body is a permanent being.

If you should say, that God only hath permanency of being, according to that of the Psalmist[k]: "The heavens shall perish, but thou shalt endure; yea, all of them shall wax old, like a garment; as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed; but thou art the same."

Unto this they will answer, that you do but trifle with the equivocation of the word 'permanency;' it is, they will say, opposed unto either 'mutability' or 'succession;' if it be opposed unto mutability and defectibility of being, then God alone hath permanency of being; but if it be opposed unto succession of being, then every created being, besides motion, hath permanency of being; and this Scheibler[l] hath taught them: "Nulli rei (inquit) convenit fluxus vel successio partium essentialium præterquam motui (permissivè loquendo); unde non est tempus successivum, nisi tempus quo durat ipse motus: nempè sicut essentia motus consistit in successione partium,—ita etiam duratio motûs consistit in successione partium; et proinde utrumque est ens succes-

[k] Psal. cii. 26, 27. [l] Met. lib. i. cap. 19. n. 35.

sivum: si tamen à parte rei loquamur, tum solum unum ens est successivum, nempè motus; duratio enim motûs à parte rei eadem est cum essentiâ ipsâ." If you should say, with Bonaventure and others, that 'succession of duration distinguisheth the creature from the Creator,' and, therefore, every creature hath succession of duration,—they will again (out of the forementioned authors) distinguish of a twofold succession, privative and positive.

1. A privative or negative succession; and that is, either betwixt not being and being, or betwixt being and not being; thus when a man is begotten, his being succeeds his not being,—and when he dies, his not being succeeds his being; and this privative succession doth distinguish the creature from the Creator, and, therefore, doth or may agree to every creature: for even the angels had a beginning, and so there was a succession of their being unto their not being; and they might have an end, by God's omnipotency, if he had not decreed otherwise; nay, God could annihilate them merely by the withdrawing of his preservative influence, and so there might have been a succession of their not being unto their being: this succession is opposed unto an intrinsical necessity of existence, or unto an immutable permanency, 'seu stabilitati permanentiæ,' as Suarez phraseth it[m], and not unto permanency of being as such. This succession, if we speak of the power and capacity of it, is essential to our bodies, and withal, it is inseparable from them; for even after the resurrection, God could (if he had not determined the contrary) reduce them unto their first nothing.

A positive succession hath for both its extremes a positive being; and this is again, they will say, either 'discrete' or 'continuous.'

1. Discrete, between beings totally perfect; as the knowledge of one plant succeeds the knowledge of another plant: but this succession doth not constitute a successive being.

There is another succession, which they call 'continuous,' and that is not betwixt total beings, but betwixt parts of the same being; when they do not exist together, but one after another, 'in fluxu,' as they say; and this suc-

[m] Disp. 50. sect. 5. n. 26.

cession is proper and peculiar unto motion, though not unto every motion. Thus far my pupils.

DR. TAYLOR.—This I have here set down, not that I at all value the problem whether it be so or no, but that you may not think me a Socinian particularly in this article; or that I think the bodies in the resurrection shall be specifically distinct from what they are here: I believe them the same bodies, but ennobled in their very beings; for to a specifical and substantial change, is required, that there be introduction of new forms.

JEANES.—1. You will not be thoroughly and sufficiently distinguished from the Socinians in this article, if you think the bodies in the resurrection shall be numerically distinct from what they are here; and, therefore, I shall entreat you to tell us in your next, how far you accord with, or dissent from, them in this particular.

2. You here say, that 'to be quantitative' shall be taken away from our bodies in the resurrection; and the sequel of this is, that bodies in the resurrection shall be specifically distinct from what they are here; for a quantitative substance and a substance without quantity are specifically distinct; because the one is material, a body,—and the other, immaterial, a spirit, and not a body at all, unless 'nomine tenus.'

DR. TAYLOR.—But yet the improving of essential predicates is no specification of subjects, but a melioration of the first.

JEANES.—The ordinary reader may, perhaps, think, that there is some great mystery wrapt up under these hard words; but the plain meaning of them is, as I suppose, that the improving of essential predicates doth not make a specifical change of subjects, but only advance a subject unto a better being. Essential predicates may be said to be improved three manner of ways: 1. By abolition of them; 2. By intension of them; 3. By addition unto them.

The two latter are impertinent to this business in hand; for suppose (though not grant) that the essential predicates of substances might be improved by intension of them, or by addition unto them; yet what will this make to the separability of essentials from a subject? The improving of essential predicates, that belongs unto our present purpose, is by abolition of them, and by substituting new and more

noble essentials in their room; and that essentials may be abolished, and new essentials substituted in their rooms (the things remaining the same) is a thing you may magisterially and imperiously dictate, but can never scholastically prove.

But, perhaps, you will say, that you take essential in a moral and theological sense: but, sir, you must remember, that you are not to take essential here, in such a latitude, as to include accidental and contingent predicates; for if you should, Porphyry's definition of 'accidens' will remain unshaken by what you say.—Would not this be a ridiculous argument? accidental and contingent predicates may be taken away, 'sine subjecti interitu;' therefore, 'adesse et abesse sine subjecti interitu,' is no excellent definition of an accident; and yet this will be your very argument, if by essential predicates you mean any thing besides the four first predicables, unto which all essential predicates are reducible.

DR. TAYLOR.—But the consequent is, that 'abesse et adesse sine subjecti interitu,' is not an excellent definition of an accident.

JEANES.—The arguments from which you infer this consequent, are overthrown, and, therefore, this consequent falleth to the ground of itself, without you support it by some fresh arguments.

DR. TAYLOR.—And yet further it follows, that if sin were as essential to a man, as mortality is, or to be quantitative,—yet there is no more need that man should rise with sin, than with mortality.

JEANES.—And, pray, sir, why do not you add, 'and with quantity?' Do you begin to startle at this proposition, that men shall rise without quantity? but as touching the separability of both mortality and quantity from bodies in the resurrection, I have spoken already so fully, as that I may spare to say any thing anew of it.

DR. TAYLOR.—But Aristotle's 'Philosophy,' and Porphyry's 'Commentary,' are but ill measures in theology, and you should do well to scour bright that armour in which you trust, which, unless it be prudently conducted, will make a man a sophister rather than a theologue: but you are wiser.

JEANES.—Aristotle and Porphyry are no contemptible authors in philosophy; but who ever thought them infallible

in philosophy, or their books measures in theology? Philosophy is a very useful handmaid unto divinity, and none will decry it, but such whose sayings and writings cannot endure the test thereof; nothing that is true in philosophy, can be false in divinity; for 'verum vero non opponitur;' one truth doth not, cannot clash with another. As for my philosophy, I hope God will preserve me from trusting in it, or in any other arm of flesh. If you can detect any error therein, I shall be ready to retract it, and be very thankful to you for your pains; as for the dirt you have hitherto thrown thereon, it will not stick, but recoileth on your own face.

Dr. Taylor.—I have only this one thing to add, that the common 'Discourses of Original Sin,' make sin to be natural, necessary, and unavoidable: and then may I not use your own words, this tenet is chargeable with libertinism, 'it is a licentious doctrine, and opens a gap to the greatest profaneness, for it takes away all conscience of sin, all repentance of it for the time past;' if sin be natural, necessary, and unavoidable, as it is to us, if we derive it from Adam, &c. what reason hath he to be humbled for it, and to ask God pardon for it? so that you have done well against your own opinion; and if I had not used the argument before, I should have had reason to thank you for it. Now as it is, you are further to consider of it, not I.

Jeanes.—If you understand by 'natural,' that which naturally results from nature, and by 'necessary and unavoidable,' that which is denominated such from a primitive and created necessity, that which you say is a foul slander against the common discourses of Protestants against original sin: but if you mean by 'natural' that which is connexed with, and coeval unto, our nature,—and by 'necessary and unavoidable,' that which is such in regard of a consequent and contracted necessity, it will be nothing to the purpose: for you (and you may take in to boot your good friends of Racovia) are never able to prove, that the assertion of such a naturality and necessity of original sin, is any bar to humiliation or repentance for it, unto prayer for the pardon of it.

Dr. Taylor.—Sir; though I have reason to give you the priority in every thing else, yet in civility I have far outdone you.

JEANES.—First, you have written a letter to me without a superscription, and I have returned one unto you with a superscription; and this I take to be of the two the greater civility.

If I may believe the echo of the neighbourhood, you have written several letters unto Mr. T. C. concerning me, that cannot pretend to any great civility, for they are said to be stuffed with insulting reproaches: unto which I shall return nothing but my prayers for the increase of your charity and humility.

DR. TAYLOR.—You were offended at a passage, which you might easily, but would not understand; you have urged arguments against me which return upon your own head. The proposition you charge me withal, I own not in any of your senses, nor (as you set it down) in any at all; and yet your arguments do not substantially, or rationally confute it, if I had said so.

JEANES.—Here you sum up your conquests, but whether you do not reckon without your host, let the reader judge.

DR. TAYLOR.—Besides all this, you have used your pleasure upon me; you have reviled me, slighted me, scorned me, untempted, unprovoked; you never sent to me civilly to give you satisfaction in your objections, but talked it in my absence, and to my prejudice.

JEANES.—Unto all this, a general negative is a sufficient answer, until I know the particulars that your delator hath informed you with; but, perhaps, you may think that for such an obscure person as myself, to dare to except against what you write, is to revile, slight, and scorn you; if you be so impatient of contradiction, I shall leave it unto your own bosom to judge from what spirit it proceeds. When you published your book, you exposed it to every man's censure that would read it; and will you accuse every man of uncivility, that passeth his censure upon any passage in it, in a private discourse with friends? But, sir, upon Mr. C.'s intreaty, I sent him in writing the reasons that I had for my censure, and these reasons were, by my consent, to be conveyed to you, and therefore I sent unto you mediately, by another, to give satisfaction to my objections. If you shall say, that it was uncivil for me not to make my address immediately unto yourself, it is a charge will easily be wiped off; I was,

as I thought, an utter stranger unto you, and Mr. C. professed a great acquaintance with, and interest in you, and assured me that my exceptions should be received with all possible candour, and promised his diligence and fidelity in conveying of them unto you; my objections, therefore, were sent civilly unto you, though sent by him. But, however you are thus severe, the reader, I hope, will have a more charitable opinion of my procedure herein, and think, that you have no reason to make such tragical outcries against me for abusive uncivilities towards you.

DR. TAYLOR.—Yet I have sent you an answer, I hope, satisfactory, and together with it a long letter, which, in the midst of my many affairs and straitened condition, is more than I can again afford.

JEANES.—Unto your long letter I have returned a longer answer; and whether yours or mine be satisfactory, I am contented to refer it unto the indifferent reader. If your condition be straitened, I wish it were more plentiful: but my affairs are, I believe, neither for number nor importance inferior unto yours; and from them I have borrowed so much time, as to answer you, and shall be ready to do so again to perform unto you the like office.

DR. TAYLOR.—And after all this, I assure you that I will pray for you, and speak such good things of you, as I can find or hear to be in you; and profess myself, and really be, sir, your affectionate friend and servant, in our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus, JER. TAYLOR.

JEANES.—For this your promise I give you hearty thanks, and shall endeavour to make you as grateful a return as I can, in the like Christian offices of love: and so shall rest, in Christ Jesus, your humble servant, HENRY JEANES.

POSTSCRIPT.

DR. TAYLOR.—Sir, I received yours late last night, and I have returned you this early in the morning, that I might, in every thing, be respective of you.

JEANES.—This I easily believe, and am confident, that upon review of your letter you will acknowledge, that, according to the proverb, you have made more haste than good speed.

DR. TAYLOR.—But I desire not to be troubled with any

thing that is not very material, for I have business of much greater concernment; neither can I draw the saw of contention with any man about things less pertinent. I expect no answer, I need none, I desire none, but expect that you will employ your good parts in any thing rather than in being 'ingeniosus in alieno libro.' Your talents can better, if you please, serve God, than by cavilling with or without reason.

JEANES.—Whether or no the controversy between us be not material, but less pertinent; whether your letter be so satisfactory, as that it needs no answer; as also, whether I cavil without reason; (to cavil with reason is a catachresis as harsh as 'ratione insanire,' and as hardly justifiable, but by a 'licentia poetica,') are things in which I refuse you for my judge, and appeal unto the learned and unprejudiced reader.

Secondly, That you neither expect nor desire an answer from me, may be very probable; but that I was obliged to return you one, I have three reasons that convince me.

First, By my silence, the truth, which you have wronged, would suffer.

Secondly, Your papers have been, with a great deal of diligence, published, and if I should not give them an answer, I should be accessary to the funeral of my own good name. And

Thirdly, A friend of yours, when he gave me this your letter, told me, that I could not answer it, and that you were, as he thought, infallible. Now I thought it my duty to undeceive him, who, having your person in too great an admiration, greedily swalloweth whatsoever falls from your pen, though never so false and erroneous.

CHRISTIAN CONSOLATIONS;

TAUGHT FROM

FIVE HEADS IN RELIGION:

I. FAITH; II. HOPE; III. THE HOLY SPIRIT; IV. PRAYER;
V. THE SACRAMENTS.

TO THE READER.

THIS manual of Christian Consolations, derived from Five Heads of great importance in Religion, was written by a late Reverend Prelate of our church, and is now printed according to his own copy.

The papers were presented by him to a person of honour, for whose private use they were designed: but, as the noblest spirits are most communicative, that noble and religious lady was pleased to impart them for the good also of others. We read in the Evangelists, how that the holy Jesus, who "went about doing good" (that is the short, but full, character which Saint Peter[a] gives of him), did, by a miracle of mercy, bless five loaves to the feeding of a very great multitude. And may the same Almighty goodness bless and prosper whatsoever spiritual good is contained in these FIVE HELPS and DIRECTIONS FOR A CHRISTIAN'S COMFORT, to the refreshing and trengthening of such souls, as truly hunger and thirst after God! May the serious and devout readers taste and see how good the Lord is, that his loving-kindness is better than life,—and that the light of his countenance, the sense of his favour, is infinitely more heart-cheering, and brings with it a truer and larger satisfaction, than the increase of "corn, and wine, and oil[b]," doth to the

[a] Acts, x. 38. [b] Psalm iv.

men of this world, who only or chiefly "mind earthly things," and unwisely place their felicity in the fading and empty enjoyments of this present life.

It is a good thing, then, that a man should both hope, and quietly wait for the salvation of the Lord; for, "he is good to them that wait for him, to the soul that seeketh him[c]."

He who is the God of love, and even [d]Love itself; he who is the ever-flowing fountain of goodness, will not fail to fill the hungry with good things. Such a Christian hath meat to eat which the world knows not of; he feeds on the hidden manna: he hath (as St. Austin said of St. Ambrose) 'occultum os in corde ejus,' and with this he doth 'sapida gaudia de pane Dei ruminare.' "The Father of the world, who openeth his hand, and satisfieth the desire of every living thing, giving to all their meat in due season[e];" "he is as ready to fulfil the desire of them that fear him; he will give grace and glory, and no good thing will he withhold from them that walk uprightly[f]." And here, from the character and qualification of the persons (them that fear him, and them that walk uprightly) it highly concerns us to observe, and to lay it to heart, that a sincere desire and serious endeavour to fear God and walk uprightly, is a necessary and indispensable condition to qualify and make us meet for the receiving of the best of divine favours and blessings. We must first walk in the fear of the Lord, if we would

[c] Lam. iii. [d] 1 John iv. [e] Psalm cxlv. [f] Psalm lxxxiv.

walk in the comfort of the Holy Ghost; as these two are set together[g]. If we would have the Spirit to be our comforter, we must follow the Spirit as our guide and counsellor. If we would find rest unto our souls, we must take Christ's yoke upon us[h], the yoke of his precepts, which are all holy, and just, and good. A state of inward comfort and true tranquillity of spirit can never be secured and preserved, but by a continued care to walk before God, in faithful obedience to his will in all things.

For "there is no peace to the wicked[i]," as is twice expressed by the noble prophet Isaiah[k]; but "great peace have they that love thy law[l]," saith the royal psalmist, the man after God's own heart, who herein spake his own experience; and elsewhere, "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace[m]." While he lives, he lives in peace, his soul dwells at ease; he feels an unspeakable joy and pleasure within, upon the sense of his doing his duty, and being faithful in obedience to his Lord and Master in heaven. And when he dies, he departs in peace[n], and shall "enter into peace," and "into the joy of his Lord[o]." Here he "tastes how sweet the Lord is," but there "he shall be abundantly satisfied with the plenty of God's house, and made to drink of the river of his pleasures[p]." "The meek shall eat and be satisfied, and their heart shall live for ever[q]." And so full and complete shall

[g] Acts, ix. 31.
[h] Matt. xi.
[i] Chap. xlviii. 22.
[k] Chap. lvii. 21.
[l] Psal. cxix. 165.
[m] Psal. xxxvii. 37.
[n] Isaiah, lvii.
[o] Matt. xxv.
[p] Psal. xxxvi.
[q] Psal. xxii.

be their joy and satisfaction, that "they shall neither hunger nor thirst any more; for the Lamb shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters; and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes[r]." This is the happy portion of those souls, who have the Lord for their God, with whom "there is fulness of joy, and at whose right hand there are pleasures," most pure and permanent, "for evermore."

[r] Rev. vii.

THE

INTRODUCTION.

THE work of the ministry consists in two things, in threatenings or comforts. The first is useful for the greatest part of Christians, who are led by the spirit of bondage, and fear to do evil, because of wrath to come; which grows out of love to themselves. The second is fit for the best Christians, that are led by the spirit of love; who endeavour to do righteousness, because they love righteousness, and to be like unto God, who, they know, is only good (which grows out of the spirit of adoption), and obey as sons and daughters, and not as servants.

Our Saviour and his apostles insist sometimes upon the former way, threatening the impenitent, yet qualifying it with tidings of peace, if they return and amend their lives. For sharpness must be applied, according to the power which the Lord has given us, for edification, and not for destruction[a]. The same apostle propounds both in the former epistle[b], "Shall I come unto you with a rod? or in love, and in the spirit of meekness?" Which latter is most suitable to the Gospel, to proclaim peace on earth, and good will towards men; and when James and John would have had fire to come down from heaven upon the Samaritans, Christ reproved them, saying, "The Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them[c]:" and St. Paul, "God hath not appointed us to wrath, but to obtain salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ[d]." And surely there is cause to apply a cluster of consolation against a few grains of terror: 1. Because we are all concluded under sin, and the guilt is ever present unto us. 2. Because of the weakness

[a] 2 Cor. xiii. 10. [b] Ibid. iv. 21. [c] Luke ix. 56. [d] 1 Thess. v. 9.

of the graces that are in us; not that they are weak, but that human corruption is mixed with them. 3. Because of the strength and manifoldness of temptations. 4. Because we are to be exercised with the sufferance of the cross, and we are infirm to bear it. Lastly, because little is communicated to us, at the present, of that reward we look for; least of all, is any share of it present and before our eyes. Forasmuch then, as there are so many in-draughts that break into our heart, to make us sick of sorrow and fear, let us seek comfort from God, who hath left no disease without a remedy to cure it, "who healeth all thy diseases[e]." I say, it is to be sought from God, lest we light upon them that tell false dreams, and comfort in vain[f]. The right place for it must be the word of God, as it is[g]: "that we, through patience, and comfort of the Scripture, might have hope." Which comfort scattered up and down in that holy book, and not cast all in a lump together, by searching it diligently, we may draw our consolation out of five things, faith,—hope,—the in-dwelling of the Spirit,—prayer,—and the sacraments.

[e] Psalm ciii. 3. [f] Zach. x. 2. [g] Rom. xv. 4.

CHRISTIAN CONSOLATIONS,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

That Faith is the Ground and Foundation of a Christian's Comfort: several Doubts and Scruples about believing, answered.

FAITH is the root of all blessings. Believe, and you shall be saved: believe, and you must needs be sanctified: believe, and you cannot choose, but be comforted: believe that God is true in all his promises, and you are the seed of faithful Abraham, and shall inherit the promises made to Abraham; believe that you are Christ's, and Christ is yours; and then you are sure that none can perish, whom the Father hath given to him. "There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus[a]." And as Martha said, "Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died[b]:" so let all that groan and pine away in sorrow, say, Lord, if thou hadst been here, if thou hadst appeared to my soul in thy goodness, I had not fainted in my trouble. Isaiah foretels[c], that it should be Christ's office "to give the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness." For St. John saw in the spirit, that they that follow Christ, are clothed "in white garments," in garments of joy, in the livery of gladness. Solomon, describing the provident mistress of a family[d], says, "She is not afraid of the snow for her household, for all her household are clothed with scarlet." So the household of Christ are not afraid of frost and snow, nor of any bitter blast; they have put on the garment of dependence on Christ, which protects them, and do resolve never to put off their privy coat of confidence in their Saviour. With this did Christ encourage the poor woman, being under confusion, who had secretly touched the hem of his garment; "Be of

[a] Romans, viii. 1. [b] John, xi. 21. [c] Isaiah, lxi. 3. [d] Prov. xxxi. 21.

comfort, thy faith hath made thee whole[e]." The first time that the word comfort is found in Scripture, is[f] upon the birth of Noah; his father says, "This son shall comfort us:" so when God did give Christ to be made man, he did, as it were, say unto us, 'This Son shall comfort you, for his name is Jesus, and he shall save his people from their sins.' He that gave us him, hath given us all things with him. As it is true to say, that Matthew left all to follow Christ, so is it as true, that he got all that can be wished by following him.

It is the chemistry of faith (let me use that word) to turn all things into good and precious ore. It is Abraham's country in a strange land: Jacob's wages, when Laban defrauded him; Moses's honour, when he refused to be the son-in-law of Pharaoh's daughter: Rahab's security, when all Jericho besides did perish: David's rescue, when there was but a step between him and death: the power of the apostles, to be able to cast out devils: Mary Magdalen's sweet ointment, to take away the ill savour of her sins. Plead, therefore, with the oratory of faith, and say, 'Lord, I have no life but in thee, I have no joy but in thee, no salvation but in thee: but I have all these in thee; and how can my soul refuse to be comforted?'

But some will say, perhaps, 'Faith is a powerful comforter: but I, poor wretch, had need to be comforted concerning my faith. I find the pulse of it weak, and sometimes it intermits, as if it beat not at all. Methinks I am not drawn near to Christ, or that I am so far off, that I cannot embrace him.' Some such infirmity may seem to have been in the Thessalonians; and therefore, St. Paul says, "I have sent Timotheus to establish you, and to comfort you, concerning your faith[g]."

Now, to turn this water into wine, and the trembling of this objection into peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, conceive as if these questions were put to you; 'Do you often accuse yourself of a weak faith in secret unto God?' I like it for a good symptom; for an hypocrite doth not use to accuse himself.—'And do you bewail your want to the Lord, because you would have it better supplied?' that is a good sign too, for it is the same as to thirst for the living God.

[e] Matthew, ix. 22. [f] Gen. v. 29. [g] 1 Thess. iii. 2.

They that have not the gift of faith, do not miss it: but they that have it, though but in a little, do insatiably desire the increase of it.

But do you find that the more you put forward to come to Christ, the more you are put back by doubts and temptations? It is right the resemblance of him that was sick of the palsy[h]; fain he would have been brought to Christ, but could not come at him for the press. This press that stops you, are the snares of the world, vain imaginations, nay, perhaps humility, a broken heart, and a tender conscience: yet find out a way to come to your Saviour, though the throng be cumbersome. If there be no other way, untile the house, break down the roof to be brought unto him: call unto the Lord to dissolve this house of clay, that thy soul may see him clearly without all impediment. But, at the worst of all, do you lie in a swoon, as it were? do you think there is no life, no motion in your faith? do you fear the light of grace is so eclipsed, that you have lost all communion with Christ? Remember, and be assured, that you could not miss Christ so much, unless Christ were in you. Because God loves you, he seems to leave you; and withdraws out of the way for a time, because he would be found; and makes you desire to seek him, that you may hold him the surer to you, when you enjoy him. A mother that hath conceived, may think, not long after, that she perceives some tokens of her conception; in a while, she doubts of it again, and wisheth some signs of better satisfaction: she hangs long under many assays of fear and persuasion: at last, she finds the babe spring in her womb, and is utterly confirmed. So it is with them, in whom Christ is born anew; they have found the Lord,—yet sometime, as it is in the Canticles, "He is behind the lattice," that we miss him by a spiritual jealousy, and fall into many of these fits, as if he were quite departed. And in this state of trepidation we must be exercised, that we may know, that holy fear and a troubled spirit are heavenly qualities, that may consist with faith.

Yet I have more to ask. Do you look dejectedly upon your faith, because you apprehend it is not full of life

[h] Mark, ii. 4.

in the root, nor laden with fruit in godly practice? Wo be to them that are not sensible of those infirmities. It is one of the best lessons in the New Testament, "Be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus[i];" but it is one of the hardest. God gives a measure of faith to all in the covenant, that call upon him; but we have this gift in earthen vessels, and taint it with the affections of our carnal mind. The best faith is weak and wavering, short-sighted, riseth and falls like a tune in music. Therefore, to encourage a perplexed mind, hearken to Isaiah[k], "Say to them that are of a sorrowful heart, be strong, fear not." For though it be but an infant faith, it is a true faith: as an infant is a true man in the essence of a man, though not a man in growth; perfect in the real being, though not in the degrees, wherein we must strive to grow up more and more. To prove the truth of it, believe all the word of God, and it can be no wider: and, for the soundness of it, believe in Christ, and look for salvation in him alone; then it is as legitimate and true born, as is the faith of any saint that is far more noble. A dim or a blear eye, that looked upon the brazen serpent, did procure a remedy for a wound, as much as a clear and well-conditioned eye. And a little faith, casting its weak beams on Christ and his death, will go far. The quantity of a grain of mustard-seed hath warmth and virtue in it to spread abundantly. If faith on earth hath shaken off all frailty, and comprehended the joys of heaven, without casting its eye aside to the love of this world, I do not conceive how the body could subsist any longer here, but that the soul, in that ecstasy, would be dissolved, and fly away.

Lastly; as God sees such sins in you as you cannot see, so he sees such graces in you as you cannot perceive. The charitable, to whom Christ speaks when they are at his right hand[l], do deny such good things to be in them, as Christ did profess they had. The Canaanitish woman found no better in herself than the vileness of a dog, that waited for crumbs under the table; but Christ commends her for her great faith. The centurion[m] saw nothing but unworthiness in his person: but Christ gave him the praise above all those, to whom he had preached in Israel. Confess then, and be not ashamed to say, "Lord, I believe; help my unbelief!"

[i] 2 Tim. ii. 1. [k] Chap. xxxv. 4. [l] Matt. xxv. 34. [m] Matt. viii. 10.

And take consolation, that water-springs shall flow out of a barren ground, which suspected itself to be parched and dry. Though you see but little by your own light, it is because it is put into the lantern of humility. And let these be the consolations of faith.

CHAPTER II.

That a Christian's Comfort flows from the Grace of Hope. The Object of Hope is, 1. *That which is good.* 2. *A Good absent.* 3. *Though absent, yet possible; and that for three Reasons.* 4. *Though possible, yet difficult. An Account of two Sorts of Difficulties, with particular Encouragements against them.*

YET know that faith never rides single, but it carries hope before it. "Faith is the substance of things hoped for[a]." No Scripture doth better contain them both in a little than Titus[b]: the apostle says, that "the faith of God's elect," first, "acknowledgeth the truth:" secondly, that "it is according to godliness:" thirdly, "it is in hope of eternal life, which God that cannot lie, promised, before the world began." When you see a weight of iron tied to a line, wound upon a wheel from the ground to the top of a house,—remember it is like the heart of a sinner, leaden and heavy, lying upon the ground, and wound up in this text, with the line of hope, to the top of heaven. Heaven then is the express and fair object of hope, and God, in his promise, is the procurer. 'Promise,' I say: for we do not grope for heaven blindfold, and fall upon it out of our own head without a warrant: but our assurance is incomparably the best that can be given, and in the best manner; "a promise made before the world began;" that is, freely, unrequested, when we could have no being to ask it; and made over to Christ, the Mediator, that it should be put into his hand to perform it to us. And it is unchangeable, as is all the truth of God: for "he cannot lie," neither is there any shadow of change in him. What can we desire more? Carry this evi-

[a] Heb. xi. 1. [b] Chap. i. 1, 2.

dence along with you, and show it to yourself upon every disquietness and deep plunge of heart: and how can you choose but convince yourself, that your melancholy and distrust is causeless? "The hope of the righteous shall be gladness[c]." And "we rejoice in hope[d]." The design of hope is considered four ways. First, it intends unto that which is good;—which makes a difference between hope and fear: for we hope for that which is good, we fear that which is evil. Secondly, it is not that good which is present, but absent; and this makes a difference between hope and fruition. "Hope that is seen, is not hope: for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for[e]?" Thirdly, though it be a good absent, and not yet obtained, yet it is possible;—which is the difference between hope and despair: but we have no colour for despair, since all things are possible to God. Fourthly, it is a possible good, but 'bonum arduum,' to be gotten with difficulty and pains; which puts a difference between the diligence of hope and careless security. These are the four promontories of hope, and a good wind blows from every quarter.

I. First, it is good for a man to hope, since we hope for that which is good, so good that it exceeds all that eye hath seen: for as yet we see not God but in his creatures. Nor ear hath heard it, that is, in its full, unutterable excellency, which the words of holy Scripture cannot express to our imperfect reason. Then "neither can it enter into the heart of man:" for things can seem no greater than words can utter. "We know as yet but in part, hereafter we shall know as we are known." If we have boasted to the heathen, that we look for a kingdom and a crown of glory, we are sure we shall not be ashamed of that hope[f]. We may be ashamed that we have doted upon petty things, out of which we have devised felicity, and they have failed and deceived us: but our treasure laid up in the heaven is so sure, that in the end, and in the day of trial, none shall insult over our hope and say, 'Where is now the Lord your God?' If a mortal man detain the wages of the labourer, it is a sin: therefore, it cannot be incident to God, "who is not un-

[c] Prov. x. 26.
[d] Rom. viii. 24.
[e] Rom. xii. 12.
[f] Rom. v. 5.

righteous to forget our work and labour of love[g]." "We shall not always be forgotten: our expectation shall not perish for ever[h]." The judgment of a good eye-sight is to see afar off; so, in the judgment of a good hope, to remark the unspeakable reward of a better age to come. Whereupon it hath sufficient satisfaction and content to leave or to lose all it hath, things "not worthy to be compared to the glory which is revealed in us[i]." The rich mines and golden trade of both the Indies are on the other side the line: so the rich trade of hope is in the other world. Change your poor freight, which is your lading in this vessel of clay, and barter it for an immortal possession.

Hope that is not under the embers, but mounts up into a trembling flame, reckons not what it is worth by a very little which it hath in hand, but by its share which is reserved in the storehouse of God's eternal recompense. Now I am abased; but there is mine honour, a far more abundant exceeding weight of glory. Now I carry about a crazy sickly body; there it shall be immortal, and incident to no distemper. Now my neighbours and acquaintance despise me, and run far from me; there I shall be enrolled with angels and saints, and "with the church of the first-born, and with the spirits of just men made perfect[k]." Now I live in all disorder of church ordinances, in distraction of schisms, in the filthy stench of old and new heresies: but there is the New Jerusalem, where all things set forth the glory of the Lamb, in beauty, and holiness, and truth. Now I must die, and deliver up my body unto the dust; but Christ died and rose again the third day, and will bring again with him, in due time, all those that sleep: and "comfort one another with these words," saith St. Paul[l]. And as when Christ ascended into heaven, "he went up with a merry noise, and the Lord with the sound of the trumpet[m];" so let every heart break out into praise and gladness, whose hope flies up unto the Lord in his holy places: "holding fast the confidence, and the rejoicing of hope firm unto the end[n]."

II. Stay yet, and consider it is a good which is absent that we hope for: when it is come, and brought to pass, hope

[g] Heb. vi. 10. [h] Psalm ix. 18. [i] Rom. viii. 18.
[k] Heb. xii. 23. [l] 1 Thess. iv. 14. [m] Psalm xlvii. 5.
[n] Heb. iii. 6.

is at the journey's end. "Say to the righteous, it shall be well with him, for they shall eat the fruit of their doings[o]." It shall be well; 'dixit,—erit.' It is not paid down, as we say, in ready money, but we have a good bond for assurance.

Let one object upon this, 'Doth not hope deferred afflict the soul?' Yet be not disheartened: it is better than so. For first, we have somewhat in hand; because that which faith lays hold of, is really and actually its own: now hope is faith's rent-gatherer, and takes up that which faith claims upon the bargain, which Christ hath made for us.

To be clearer yet: "We are sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance[p]." You see then, that though we have not the inheritance as yet, we have the earnest of it; and an earnest penny is more than nothing. Here I must distinguish between a pledge and an earnest. A pledge is laid down for assurance to repay that which was lent: but an earnest is given upon a bargain, to keep that till the rest be brought in. Now the earnest we receive of the kingdom to come, is the seal of the Spirit, an imprinted comfort that it shall be ours, a seal that cannot be defaced, a comfort that cannot be taken from us. So much as you have of that seal, so much you have of the earnest: therefore, you cannot say that hope hath quite nothing to stay its longing. The blossoms of the spring do not only promise, but are God's earnest, to represent the fruits which will wax ripe in autumn.

I will make it out in another similitude. He that is in a merchant's warehouse, where spices are stored up, shall have some taste of them in his palate by their strong scent, though he put not one corn into his mouth: so we taste heaven, because the Spirit that comes from heaven, dwells in us, and gives many delightful signs of a glorified reversion.

But to go forward: it may not be denied but that hope is anxious and restless, till it come to enjoy. How tedious a thing it is to stay long without the company of them, whom we entirely love! and can it be otherwise than irksome, to be so long absent from the vision of God, and of Christ compassed with innumerable angels? St. Paul says no less[q];

[o] Isaiah, iii. 10. [p] Eph. i. 13, 14. [q] Rom. viii. 23.

"We that have the first fruits of the Spirit, groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of the body." Here are groans and sighs indeed; but we shall never be sea-sick with that easy tossing, having "hope as an anchor of our souls[r]." Hope of the right stamp, looking for the appearance of God, and the reward that he brings with him, hath a good mate that goes together with it, and that is patience. In the saddest book of the Scripture[s], it is written, "It is good that a man should hope, and quietly wait for the salvation of the Lord." Which, that it may not be wanting, we must contend for it in prayer, as it is[t], "The Lord direct your hearts into the love of God, and the patient waiting for Christ." And it is no difficult thing to be persuaded. For when we are held off for a while from the inheritance of heaven, do we not attend God's leisure? And will the handmaid wait for her mistress, being in some degrees of place above her? And shall not the creature stay the leisure of the Creator, so infinite above us? Beside, the expectation of the recompense will increase the recompense, and make it more superlative; therefore, "let not him that believes, make haste[u]." Nay, so your spirit will be patient, the Lord will allow you your importunity to call upon him to hasten: "My strength, haste thee to help me[x]." Finally, stay for that contentedly, which when it comes, it comes but once, and shall abide for ever.

III. Another degree upon which hope steps higher, is this, that her aim is possible. I have said how that which is proposed to it, is good; that it is not disconsolate, though it be in futurition, and not yet obtained (for it is too good to be yet obtained); if patience have its perfect work, it can attend cheerfully. "My soul, wait thou only upon God, for my expectation is from him[y]." Strike we, therefore, pleasantly upon this third string, that the past object of divine hope is to be accomplished. "For I run not as uncertainly, I fight not as one that beateth the air[z]." Paul did do all things, and suffer all things, for that which is feasible, and might be achieved.

The covetous is a projector for so much wealth as can

[r] Heb. vi. 19. [s] Lam. iii. 26. [t] 2 Thes. iii. 5.
[u] Isaiah, xxviii. 16. [x] Psalm xxii. 19. [y] Psalm lxii. 5.
[z] 1 Cor. ix. 26.

never be gotten. The epicure longs for so much pleasure as can never be enjoyed. Great clerks and philosophers seek for so much knowledge as can never be found; which, in Isaiah's words, is "to spend money for that which is not bread, and to labour for that which doth not satisfy[a]." This is able to break the brain and to break the heart; for there is no labour like to lost labour. "But the fruit of the righteous is a tree of life[b]." His hope stands upon a sound bottom; it is all comfort for three reasons: 1. It is possible, because it comes from an infinite power; 2. Because it is derived from infinite love and goodness; 3. It hath abundant satisfaction from long and constant experience; and what can we desire more?

1. The first pillar that props it up, is the almightiness of God. "Abba, Father, all things are possible to thee," says our Saviour[c]. Talk not to me how the seas should be turned into dry land, or how the poor can be raised up to be set with the princes of the people; or how stones can be raised up to be children of Abraham; or how palsies and fevers can be cured with a word. I will stop all gaps of infidelity with this one bush, "That God is able to do it." He that is made by no cause, cannot be confined in his being; and he that hath no bounds in his being, can have no bounds and restriction in his power. And if any fancy start out of our weak brain, to cavil that somewhat is impossible to God,—it is soberly spoken by one, that 'it were better to say that this could not be done, than that God could not do it.' There is no possibility, therefore, for Christian hope to despair, because all things are possible to God. There is no horizon under heaven, or above heaven, that hope cannot look beyond it. For that comfort that is commensurable with the strength and power of God, is as large as can be contained in the heart of a creature.

But if you lean upon the help of men, and hosts, and angels, they are slender reeds, and will give you a fall: as God said of the vain trust of the Jews, "They shall be ashamed of Ethiopia their expectation[d]." How many do I see to sink under a little sorrow, because they have too

[a] Chap. lv. 2. [b] Prov. xi. 30.
[c] Mark, xiv. 16. [d] Isaiah, xx. 5.

much temporal comfort! The world is too liberal to them; it hath given them of all things so largely, that they have not the patience to want any thing: as God told Gideon, that he had too much of man in his army to depend upon the Almighty for victory, and he bade him retain but the thirtieth part, and his foes should flee before him[e]. Throw all the miserable comforts of the world out of doors for rubbish, and cast yourself upon the strength of God, and upon that alone; and then say, 'Lord, receive me, for I have driven all other solace from me, that I might enjoy thee alone: now I am ready for my Saviour, for there is none to help me but only thou, O Lord!'

2. That which holy hope hath in its prospect, is possible, not only for the infiniteness of power, but for the infiniteness of the mercy of our God. It is easy to get the favour of a gracious and a gentle nature among the sons and daughters of men; and the most generous are the most reconcilable. Then what possibility, nay, what readiness will hope find to be reconciled to God, "merciful, gracious, long-suffering, abundant in goodness and truth[f]?" The devil is not more frequent nor more strong in any temptation, than to undermine hope in this point, that it is too forward and too peremptory to expect remission of sins: fain he would have a tender conscience stick in this mire, and never get out of it. Some reverend writers go so far as to teach that Satan himself at first, when he began his mischief in Paradise, was of opinion, that sin could not be forgiven, it being his own case; and he would never have tempted Eve to disobedience, if he had imagined the eating of the forbidden fruit could be pardoned; not suspecting that God would have given his only Son to die for our redemption. Which I pass by, because it depends upon a grave question, whether God could pardon sin by his absolute power, without satisfaction made to his justice? Deep disputings will yield but shallow comforts. Of this we are assured, that the means which the Father appointed, are excellent, into which "the angels desire to look[g],"—to give us "redemption and forgiveness of sins through the blood of Christ, according to the riches of his grace[h]." "We have trespassed against our God, but

[e] Judges, vii. 4.
[f] Exod. xxxiv. 6.
[g] 1 Pet. i.
[h] Eph. i. 7.

there is hope concerning this thing[i]." "Forgiveness of sins" is put into our creed: he that doth not believe it, hath no creed nor Christianity in him. Do you believe a 'catholic church?' that is the dowry of that church, which Christ espoused to him in his blood. Do you believe 'a communion of saints?' this is it in which we are baptized, in which all our communion doth join, "That through Christ is preached forgiveness of sins; and by him all that believe, are justified from all things, from which we could not be justified by the law of Moses[k]." So also it is put into our prayer, as well as into our creed. And he that taught us to pray, "Forgive us our sins,"—hath taught us this comfort, that sins are pardonable.

Yet an afflicted conscience will receive suggestion, that some sins indeed are pardonable, but not all, not the sin of the evil angels, not the sin against the Holy Ghost: "and there is a sin unto death, I do not say ye should pray for it," says St. John[l]. These, verily, are set out for instances of irreversible judgment, to deter us from committing crimes of a vast magnitude. But mark, the holy Scriptures have not unfolded it clearly and explicitly, wherein the heinousness of these sins did consist, that we may not accuse ourselves of them, and fall into despair, as if we had committed them. Since you know not expressly what these are, how can you lay them to your own charge? Nay, if you lay them to your own charge, you must be mistaken; for he that condemns himself, shall not be condemned of the Lord. Such incurable castaways as have their consciences seared, are not sensible of their guilt. Who more like to be of that number than the Pharisees, who justified themselves, saying, 'Are we also blind?'

'Well,' says a forlorn sinner, 'my sins then are not the forenamed, nor out of possibility of mercy; but it is almost as bad that they are in an unlikelihood to mercy, for they are very heinous.' As unto that confession that your trespasses are very heinous, conceive so of them, and spare not: true repentance thinks no sin to be a little one. So St. Jerome spake to the commendation of the lady Paula, in her funeral sermon, that she was wont to bewail every fault she had committed, as if it were one of the most presumptuous

[i] Ezra, x. 2. [k] Acts, xiii. 38, 39. [l] 1 Epist. v. 16.

crimes. But be it so really, that God hath let you incur no small delinquencies: as Aaron was not free from idolatry,—nor David, from adultery,—nor Peter, from abjuration of Christ,—nor Paul, from persecuting the church,—nor Manasses, from witchcraft,—nor Mary Magdalen, from indefinite scandal; well, I know not what; who yet all obtained mercy, for a pattern to them, who hereafter should believe in Christ to everlasting life[m]. They were called Novatians, who blotted out the beginning of the eighth chapter of St. John's Gospel, because the story tells us, that Christ dismissed the woman taken in adultery, with a gracious gentleness. Why should not his procedure in judgment be like his doctrine? Did he not preach that publicans and harlots should go into heaven before proud justiciaries? "Be merciful unto my sin, for it is great," says David[n]. This is not the way to deal with mortal judges, when we stand at their bar; but this is the way to obtain propitiation from our God; 'heal me, for I am sore wounded; cure me, for I am very sick; be merciful to my sin, for it is very great.' Zozimus, a pagan, that envied the honour of Constantine the Great, makes this tale to discredit him in his history; that Constantine had put his wife, Fausta, and his son, Crispus, to death; after which, being haunted with an ill conscience, that gave him no quiet, he sought among the heathen priests for expiation, and they could give him no peace: but he was told that the religion of Christians was so audacious as to promise pardon to all sins, were they never so horrible. Is not this to commend the emperor and his religion under the form of a dispraise? for what rest could a troubled mind attain to, from the rites and superstitions of idol gods? But, in the immense value of the price of the blood of Christ, there is redemption for every sinner that repents and believes. "Whatsoever ye loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven," says Christ to his apostles[o]. Oh lose not a syllable of such comfort in this discomfortable world! 'Quodcunque' is 'all manner of sin,' great and little. And if Christ hath given such commission to men on earth, to unloose every sin by the power of their office, and the word of consolation,—then how unbounded is his own clemency! No sins can superabound his grace, if we do not sin presumptuously, because grace abounds.

[m] 1 Tim. i. 13. [n] Psalm xxv. 11. [o] Matt. xviii. 18.

Yet the poor publican will beat his breast, and cry out dolefully, 'My sins are many; they are more in number than the hairs of my head.' The bill of indictment is a true bill: who can tell how oft he offendeth? Scarce any sin we act, but hath a nest of sins in it: then think we what a heap will they make, when they are put all together? Peter, it seems, misdoubted, that if a man were forgiven, that had trespassed often, it would be scandalous, and encourage the offender; therefore, he thought it fit to stint indulgence to some mediocrity, as it is [p], "Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him?—until seven times? Jesus answereth, I say not unto thee until seven times, but until seventy times seven times." So that Christ commends a boundless forgiveness in a finite number for an infinite. And, doubtless, himself would not stick with us for the same number. God forbid we should think he taught to be more merciful, or of greater perfection, than himself. "Her sins, which are many, are forgiven [q]."

Be thankful, and admire the mercies of our Father, both for nailing our great sins to the cross of Christ, and for acquitting us from the innumerable fry of minim sins, those of daily incursion; because when one of the least is remitted, all are remitted together. Mark that considerately. One that committed some foul and leprous sin, goes mourning upon the deep sense of it, and especially the horror of it makes him fear damnation: yet he greatly deceives himself if he think his other sins are passed over,—and this great one, or a few such, do remain to his perdition. For do you hope comfortably that some faults of omission, some idle words, some garish and customary fashion of pride, are remitted to you? With the same affiance, leaning on Christ, you may hope that you are discharged from your greatest enormities. For all unrighteousness is covered at once to them, with whom God is well pleased. No sin is forgiven to him that is not in Christ,—and against him that is in Christ, there is no condemnation. They are the sons of God, to whom the Lord doth graciously remit any fault; but where any fault is not remitted, they are his enemies. He that is justified from any sin, must be truly penitent; but a true penitent is sorry for all sins together, hates them, eschews them all alike.

[p] Matt. xviii. 21. [q] Luke, vii. 47.

Then follows a plenary absolution from all iniquity, through Christ our Lord.

And beware that you overlook not these multitudes of sins of the under size, as if little grief or anxiety would serve for them. Are they not numberless corns of sand? And may not a weight of too much sand sink a ship as soon as a burden of too much iron? The dailiness of sin must be bewailed with the dailiness of sorrow. And then "when thou liest down, thou shalt not be afraid; yea, thou shalt lie down, and thy sleep shall be sweet[r]." Now, tell me, if this balm be not enough to heal the bleedings and bruisings of despair? Talents of sins, and sins in small money, you may hide them all in the wounds of Christ. It is possible for God to do the benefit, and possible for thee to receive it. "Let Israel hope in the Lord: for with the Lord there is mercy, and with him is plenteous redemption; and he shall redeem Israel from all his iniquities[s]."

3. It must now be added, how that which hope waits for, is possible, since it may find satisfaction from long and constant experience. In the younger days of the world, somewhat might be said to excuse the backwardness of hope: they wanted proof and demonstration in those times. Even Cain was the sooner overtaken with despair, crying out, "My sin is greater than can be forgiven me." He had not lived so long to be taught the contrary by experience. But every age hath given advantage to hope to be satisfied better and better. "O God, we have heard with our ears, and our fathers have declared unto us, the noble works that thou didst in their days, and in the old time before them[t]." The records of God do tell us how the armies of aliens have been discomfited before his children; how the rocks have given them drink, and the barren wilderness bread; how the church hath been scattered and re-collected; the righteous continually supported, either with deliverance or patience; that the dead have been raised up to life; nay, that Enoch and Elias were taken up alive into heaven, to implant into our minds, that both they that are in the graves, shall hear the voice of Christ, and come forth; and that such as shall be found living at that day, shall be caught up in the clouds, and be translated into heaven. And I challenge hope to

[r] Prov. iii. 24. [s] Psalm cxxx. last verse. [t] Psalm xliv. 1.

instance, if it can surmise, that any thing is impossible to be brought to pass, since there is a precedent in every thing to demonstrate, that the right hand of the Lord hath brought mighty things to pass. There is one thing, I confess, for which there is no example, neither can be evidenced, till all things be accomplished, that is, the coming of the Lord Christ with the new heavens and the new earth; and yet, to confirm us in that mystery to come, St. John did see the idea or glimpse of it in his revelation.

The use of all this is to remember the transactions of God in the times that are gone before. Who ever saw the righteous forsaken? or the wicked flourish long? Was there ever any persecution of the church which hath not ended in its triumph? But stay for it, and pray for it, and condole for the delays of God's providence, till you may say in earnest, "My soul fainteth for thy salvation[u]." How easy is it for a Christian that hath any nostril, to run after God in the odour of his sweet ointments, and trace his steps from point to point? and then to say with David, "I have remembered thy judgments of old, O Lord, and have comforted myself[x]." And from another prophet[y], "Ye shall see their way, and their doings, and ye shall be comforted concerning all the evil that I have brought upon Jerusalem."

The great storehouse of consolation is hope: therefore, all this, and more, must be said to keep it fresh, like a green olive tree, having never a sear or withered bough upon it. I come now to complete it; I have shown it aims only at good, and that which is only and excellently good: at such a good whose harvest is not brought in all in a year, but still there is more and more to be had, and the most to come. It is possible, through the greatness of God's power and mercy, as all ages have witnessed.

IV. But lastly; that which may seem to pinch is, that it is 'bonum arduum,' 'a good not easily attained,' but with great labour and diligence, to give warning against sloth and security. It were not worth our longing, to say we hope for petty things, easy, and at hand; but for things of value, for which we must struggle with many lets and impediments to possess them. No man need to hope to find cockle shells on the shore; but to find pearls in the sea, that is an object.

[u] Psalm cxix. 31. [x] Psalm cxix. 52. [y] Ezek. xiv. 22.

for the adventure of a jeweller. Neither is the jewel of Christian hope easily purchased. But as Elijah said to Elisha, "Thou hast asked a hard thing; nevertheless, if thou see me, when I am taken from thee, it shall be so unto thee[z]." Much after that sort I commune with my heart, and say, "It is good to seek for eternal life, pursue it, as the hart brayeth after the rivers of waters: there will be much ado to get it, for 'many shall seek to enter in, and shall not be able[a].' Nevertheless, if thou canst see the Lord, as if he were continually before thee, thou shalt not miss of that thou desirest: for all things are possible to him, whose eyes are ever toward the Lord."

These difficulties upon which I strike, are either in ourselves, or in our adventure: in ourselves, partly through natural imbecility, partly through contracted impotency.

1. Our natural languor is that of original contagion, which makes us so weak, that there is none that doth good, no, not one: which is not to be extenuated, as if the malignity of it might be suppressed with a little resistance. It is good to know the power of so strong an enemy, that we may be fortified against it. It is a root of bitterness never to be digged up out of corrupt nature: a coal of fire spitting out sparks of temptations continually: as inward to us as the marrow is in our bones. Yet there is hope in Christ to slake this fire, though not utterly in this life to quench it. It is a body of death, a whole body, consisting of all the members of sin; yet a body is but flesh, and a spirit is mightier than flesh. Apply that of the prophet Zechariah to it, as we may read it by the direction of our margin, and keep to the original[b]: "If it be difficult in the eyes of this people, shall it be difficult in mine eyes, saith the Lord?" Therefore, since God is our help against the insurrection of this rebellious sin, let us be comforted in his help, and not in excuses. For we must not plead our personal maladies and natural inclinations, and think that God will take it for an answer, and ask no more.

'I am dull of understanding,' says one, 'and what I am taught I cannot bear it away. I am suddenly transported with indignation, and cannot choose but break out: I am retentive of an injury, and cannot easily be reconciled.' All this, and the like, is no better than the answer of those ill-

[z] 2 Kings, ii. 10. [a] Luke, xiii. 24. [b] Chap. viii. 6.

mannered guests in the Gospel, which were invited to a feast made by a king,—"We cannot come, I pray you have us excused:" which sounds like confession and humility, but it is denial and defiance. Spend your breath in a better way, and cry out often and affectionately,—"Give me not over to myself, O Lord; take away from me my stony heart, and give me a heart of flesh. Drop down upon this barren earth, and it shall bring forth quite against the bias of nature. The high-minded will grow meek as a lamb, the covetous will begin to disperse and scatter abroad, the lying lips will confess the truth, bitter cruelty will melt into pity, new-fangled braveries will be laid aside, and blush at vanity. To what purpose are the pourings in of the Spirit, but that what is wickedly inbred from our conception, should be shaken off from the tree, and a better fruit spring up in the place, from the increase of God?

Mark the rain that falls from above, and the same shower that dropped out of one cloud, increaseth sundry plants in a garden, and severally according to the condition of every plant: in one stalk it makes a rose, in another a violet, divers in a third, and sweet in all. So the Spirit works its multiformous effects in several complexions, and all according to the increase of God. Is thy habit and inclination choleric? Why, try thyself if thou be very apt to be zealous in a good cause, and it turns thy natural infirmity into holy heat.—Is melancholy predominant? the grace of God will turn that sad humour into devotion, prayer, and mortifying thy pleasures to die unto the world.—Is thy temperature sanguine and cheerful? the goodness of God will allow it unto thee in thy civil life, in a good mean; but over and above it will make thee bountiful, easy to pardon injuries, glad of reconciliation, comfortable to the distressed, always rejoicing in the Lord.—Is a man phlegmatic and fearful? if this freezing disease, which is in thee from thy mother's womb, be not absolutely cured, yet the Holy Ghost will work upon it, to make thy conscience tender, wary to give no offence, to make thee pitiful, penitent, contrite, ready to weep for thy transgressions. "There are two handles to take hold of every thing," says a heathen: a dissolute man takes hold of original frailties, and makes them serpents: a holy man declines their serpentine nature, and catcheth them by that part, which may conduce to all manner of virtue. This is

the comfort of hope against original inquination, that this great enemy, by the operation of the Spirit, shall be made our friend, or our footstool. "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from this body of death? I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord[c]."

What is stronger than a lion? yet, if the lion be killed, "out of the strong comes forth sweetness[d]." For all this, the worst is not past: beside natural pronity to sin, we have contracted much more evil by custom, education, strong habits, noxious examples, bad enticements and infusions. The cockatrice egg was laid, when we were in our mother's womb, but it proves more venomous being hatched, and grown able to fly abroad. There are seventy sons of Ahab, who shall kill thee? Even the sword of the Spirit: "there is none like it," as David said of that of Goliah[e]. This is sufficient, not merely to cut down grass and briars, but to hew down the trees, to cut off the branches, to shake the leaves, to scatter the fruit, to frighten away the fowls from the branches, and the beasts from grazing under it[f]; or, as the apostle comforts us in plain words, without a parable, "I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me[g]." If you be over-toiled and heated too much, you know how to cool: cast off some garments, wipe away the sweat, sit still and stir not, lest you inflame yourself with motion. Follow the same method, lay aside the burden of sin, that inflames you, cast off the weight and the superfluity of naughtiness: bear in mind that Christ sweat drops of blood in his agony, to make you ashamed of toiling and sweating in Satan's drudgery. Take ease in a sabbath of holy rest, and moil not in the unprofitable works of darkness. Try what refrigeration this will give unto your conscience: else take heed that you be not put to a terrible sweat of fear, lest God take you away in his wrath, and give you up for ever unto Satan, whom you have served so willingly.

"To the law and to the testimony:" mind no examples, but when they are wrapt up therein. "Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind[h]." What a case had Noah been in, if he had framed

[c] Rom. vii. 24. [d] Judges, xiv. 14. [e] 1 Sam. xxi. 9.
[f] Dan. iv. 14. [g] Phil. iv. 13. [h] Rom. xii. 2.

his life by common practice, when all flesh had corrupted their way? Choose better company, as Enoch did, to walk with God[i]. And "can two walk together unless they be agreed[k]?" It is more than agreement: it imports endearment, benevolence, friendship with God. No title can be greater or sweeter: what can match that honour of Abraham and the apostles, to be called the 'friends of God and Christ?' No league in the world more sought for or more willingly accepted: no amity less burdensome or more beneficial. St. Austin[l] brings in a couple that served the Roman emperor, thus debating upon it: 'What can we look for in this palace, more than to be called the friends of our sovereign? When we have got this, it is no sure and unchangeable favour. And how long shall we attend before we be promoted to it? But let us then turn to God in this hour, and sue to be his friends, and it shall be done instantly, and remain eternally.'—"Ask and it shall be given, seek and we shall find." And as we trespass by sins of daily prevention, there is a dailiness of mercy to comfort us. But as you love Christ, and would be beloved, struggle with temptations, do not yield upon the first enticement, no, nor upon the second or third assault. "Resist the devil, and he will fly from you:" quit yourself like a man, fight like a Christian: "the flesh is weak, but the Spirit is willing, ready, able to assist you[m]." Thus hope waxeth valiant, and assures itself of victory against customs, habits, and all contracted impotencies.

2. Lay now our adventure, the toil and peril of our labour, wherein we are employed, in another balance, and more difficulty will appear. For hope is wise, and doth not flatter itself, as if the kingdom of heaven were accessible with little pains. What carefulness ought this to work in us? what self-denial? what fear? what zeal? what unblamable conversation? "I run, I fight, I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection[n]." "For Christ Jesus I have suffered the loss of all things[o]." Christ, having overcome the sharpness of death, hath opened the kingdom of heaven to all believers: yet to put us to our labour and skill, to follow, mark what he has taught us,—"Strait is the gate, and narrow

[i] Gen. v. 24. [k] Amos, iii. 3. [l] Confess. 8. c. 6.
[m] Matt. xxvi. 41. [n] 1 Cor. ix. 27. [o] Phil. iii. 8.

is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it[p]."

And, therefore, is it so strait and narrow? a question worthy to be resolved, to teach us and to comfort us.

First; a very religious life is said, by a metaphor, to go in at a strait gate, because it is our master-piece to find the door, or to begin well; therefore, it is called "to be born again." For, as to be born into the world needs more art, and skilful midwifery, than to bring us up; so to be regenerate, to begin to live the life that is in Christ, is exceeding irksome to flesh and blood: so many are the enticements that throng about the way, to keep us from the door, and to hold us in love with those sins, which have been our companions. As an orator will be more timorous to deliver the first period of his speech, than all that follows; so we stick long at the first onset to reform to be strict, to pass away with so much vanity as must be forsaken. The penitent thief could not find the door, till he was going out of the world: St. Paul, as some compute, was twenty-eight years old before he left to be a blasphemer. But rush on, and make way through all resistances: he that hath one foot over the threshold, and hath cast the world behind him, is well advanced into the courts of our God.

Secondly; a heavenly mind gathers itself up into one wish, and no more. "One thing have I desired of the Lord, which I will require[q]." Grant me thyself, O Lord, and I will ask no more. The new creature asks nothing of God, but to enjoy God: give me this, O Lord, and for the rest, let Ziba take all. I will part with all to buy that one pearl, the riches of heavenly grace. The servant of sin hath all manner of pleasures under heaven to trade in. Can he ask for a shop with more variety of ware? why may he not have these, you will say, and life eternal to boot? Some of them are inconsistent with life eternal; but all are not, so they be added, and not sought for: as our Saviour distinguisheth, "First, seek the kingdom of God, and these things shall be added[r]." But if you seek them, which is to love them for themselves, and above the kingdom of God, it is like a man that carries a piece of timber at breadth

[p] Matthew, vii. 14. [q] Psalm xxvii. 4. [r] Matthew, vi. 33.

upon his back; there is no room for a man to get in with such an impediment upon his shoulders. It is not the gate that excludes him, but he thrusts himself out with his own improvidence.

Thirdly; there are thousands of scandals, millions of errors, to be avoided, but truth and holiness are in the middle, in a little compass; and happy is he that shuns extremes, and falls perpendicularly upon the golden mean. The commandments of God are but "ten words[1];" the inventions of men, and the forms of will-worship are innumerous. "Pray, fast, give alms," Christ comprehends much external duty under those three heads, but the traditions of men are more than can be put in a catalogue. "Call upon God in the time of trouble;" that, and no more, is the pole-star of faith in prayer; but what a compass doth monkishness take in, to drop beads in the invocation of angels and saints! Profaneness neglects the honour of God: superstition falls into needless excesses about it: the true fear of God is in the centre, as far from the one extreme as from the other. As in an accurate song, you must keep minim time, or else you will put the whole choir out; so look that you sing the new song of the Lord with trembling and accurate observation, miss neither cliff nor note, that is, neither sound doctrine, nor pious practice.

These are the reasons why it is so hard to get access to Christ in a narrow way, and through a strait gate. If these difficulties be not discerned by some, it is because they take up Christianity as it is in use amongst men, and as they are born to it. But they that came to it in their years of understanding, and were trained up in church-discipline many years before they were baptized, and all that time were put to exact trial what they would prove, and were taught it over and over, how the laws of Christ were far stricter than any other laws in the world;—these were pre-acquainted with the covenant which they must perform, and then received it, with the largest and hardest conditions. Yet they were brought on with two special comforts: first, that God did behold from heaven the mightiness of the task, which we took upon us, the troubles of persecutions, the dangers of

[1] Deuteronomy, iv. 13.

temptations, the infirmities of man to resist them. "He knows whereof we are made, he remembereth we are but dust:" it puts him to admire the performances of his saints, as Jesus marvelled at the centurion's faith[t]. Secondly, when we are under our hazards, we shall have an answer from the Lord, as St. Paul had, "My grace is sufficient for thee, for my strength is made perfect in weakness[u]." Therefore, as the Lord said of David, when he had chosen him, "I have laid help upon one that is mighty[x]:" so we, casting ourselves upon the help of God, upon one that is almighty, though of ourselves we have gathered little into our omer, the blessing of God upon it will not let us lack. "Every hard matter that rose among the people, was to be brought to Moses[y]." So in every hard cause, desire the Lord to plead it, and to judge it; bring it to him, leave it in his court, and he will end it. These are the cordials to revive hope, touching the difficulties it finds, in the way to obtain that good which is set before it.

CHAPTER III.

How a Christian's Comforts flow from the Inhabitation and Testimony of the Holy Ghost; as also from the Sanctification of the Spirit unto all Obedience, and the Fruits of Righteousness.

I HAVE insisted with so much length and variety upon hope, because it is the largest inlet of Christian consolation. Yet, in the third place, that which carries it on, nay, that which causeth it, is the Holy Ghost. As the air is the medium through which the eye doth see all things, yet it is the light that shines in it that makes all things visible: so hope is the principal means, enlivened by faith, through which we rejoice with joy unspeakable, and full of glory; yet it is the Spirit inhabiting, that kindles it, that enlightens it, which makes it affect its object, and cleave unto it. Our Saviour left the world, and ascended into heaven, for many reasons; one was 'to give gifts unto men,' which gifts, though very many, are all united in their fountain, the Holy Ghost.

[t] Matth. viii. 10. [u] 2 Cor. xii. 9. [x] Psalm lxxxix. 19. [y] Exod. xviii. 16.

Of which legacy, Christ gave warning before his death[a]. "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever[b]." "The world knows him not, because it sees him not: but ye know him, for he shall dwell with you, and shall be in you[c]." "I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you[d]." "If I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you: but if I depart, I will send him unto you." This Comforter, the everlasting Spirit, to speak after the phrase of men, is the proxy of Christ, his representative in our hearts. And so it was fulfilled: for when the Spirit descended in great abundance upon the church, St. Peter says, "This is that which is come to pass[e]." "Thou hast made known to me the ways of life; thou shalt make me full of joy with thy countenance[f]." And for the evidence of it, it is said, "The churches were edified, walking in the fear of God, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost[g]." Which text begets this note, that Christian solace consists in two things, which we may call the root and the fruit. The root is the Holy Ghost taking up his tabernacle in us, so that "our body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in us[h]." To walk by it in the fear of God is the fruit of sanctification in all manner of obedience.

1. Unto the former, the in-dwelling of the Spirit, let this be premised. When we speak of any one dwelling in safety, the great question is, who keeps the house? When David fled from Jerusalem for fear of Absalom, there was no likelihood that his palace would hold out, for "he left ten women, that were concubines, to keep the house[i]." So if we leave our concubines, our lusts and carnal desires, to keep our conscience, they will betray us to Satan to get the possession. "But who can take the city, if the Lord keep it[k]?" How impregnable are we, if he dwell in us, and we in him, "because he hath given us of his Spirit[l]."

All that one can say unto this, who is doubtful in faith, will be, 'Show me that the Father of mercies, and that the God of all comfort is entered into me, and it sufficeth.' I answer,

[a] John, xiv. 16. [b] Verse 17. [c] Verse 18.
[d] Chap. xvi. 7. [e] Acts, ii. [f] Verse 28.
[g] Acts, ix. 31. [h] 1 Cor. vi. 19. [i] 2 Sam. xv. 16.
[k] Psalm cxxvii. 1. [l] 1 John, iv. 13.

I cannot show, that is, demonstrate it to another, that this eternal life is in him; but I can persuade an apt scholar to stir up the grace which is in him, that he may show it to himself. I say, he may do it, if he give his mind to it. Else, St. Paul made a question to no purpose, "Know ye not that ye are the temples of the Holy Ghost, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you[m]?"

I deny not but the devil hath a way to fetch it about, to make you misknow, and take no heed of that you do perceive, if he did not stagger you with delusions. This is the first lesson that he reads out of his morals, 'That distrust is a high point of wisdom; and be not over-reached with opinion: you are sure of that you see, and of no more.' But to meet with this fallacy: Is nothing certain, or at least so certain as that which may be seen? Why, the wind will blow away this objection, the air will confute it. What can you make up so close that the air and the wind will not get into it? Yet you see it not, you know not whence it comes, it is an invisible messenger: "So is every one that is born of the Spirit[n]." Breath is an imperceptible expiration; therefore, Christ breathed on his apostles, and said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost[o]." Some gales of western winds, in the spring, make the earth glad with their gentle blast, and open the buds and flowers: so there is a breath of omnipotent virtue, which fans the heart that was hot in sin, with its coolness, which carries away the caterpillars that eat up the tender leaf of our first greenness: which widens our blossoms to make their expectation show itself openly: which perfume the evil scents of scandals that annoy us, as it is express to that intent in the mystical song. "Awake, thou north wind, and come thou south, and blow upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out[p]."

I bring the case again to be examined: is no witness so competent to depose for truth, unless it be sensible, and chiefly discerned by the eye? then what ail all sects of philosophers to say, 'That the sun, and all the stars above, work upon these bodies below by heat and light, and likewise by influence?' An invisible virtue that doth enter into the production of many effects; which seems to have

[m] 1 Cor. iii. 16. [n] John, iii. 8. [o] John, xx. 22. [p] Cant. iv. 16.

God's approbation with his own voice, who mentions there "the sweet influences of Pleiades, and the bands of Orion?"[q] And can the constellations of the firmament drop down good upon minerals and plants, upon man and beast, and by a secret derivation? What an error, or rather what a madness is it then, to scruple whether he that made the heavens, can dart celestial beams into man's soul, without a sensible perception? And this is all I will say more unto it: Is not the soul of man above a material apprehension? Pliny, or Galen, or whosoever unadvisedly deny the immortality of it, will yield there is a soul in our composition, that holds all the parts of the body together, and moves, and acts in them; yet, they can as soon take a pencil, and paint an echo, as describe the intelligible nature of a soul, by species drawn out in our sensitive fancy. Therefore, it concerns us, in maintenance of the dignity of our own nature, to say, that the Spirit of God can inform our soul, as well as our soul can inform our body. I know not what temptation may rise to gainsay the truth, that the soul is known by her powers and operations, that it justifies itself to be an immaterial substance, a spark kindled in us by God, from reason, and will, and memory. But what evidence is there that there is a divine cause that worketh in, and is more than, these natural faculties? It is requisite to work close unto this question: and I answer, first, because the bounds of nature are known, beyond which, nature cannot reach forth itself: as it works in its own sphere to preserve itself in being, and in well-being, in health, in wealth, in fame and glory, in extending ourselves unto ages to come, by leaving a posterity, in preserving our country where we are born, and the like. But to have our conversation in heaven, at this present in heaven, to ascend thither in our desires, and in the tendencies of all our actions, to aspire to live in blessedness for ever, to long to be at that rest, where there is no sin; to look for a church which hath neither spot nor wrinkle: this could not enter into us to prosecute it all industriously, constantly, cheerfully, but by a supernatural elevation far above the vigour of a soul

[q] Job, xxxviii. 31.

pressed down by a corruptible body, that is, by the power of the Holy Ghost.

Secondly; I feel the pulse of that divine Spirit beating in me by "delighting in tribulations" for Christ's sake, and "taking pleasure in infirmities" upon the same score[r]." And again, "I am filled with consolation, I am exceeding joyful in all our tribulations[s]." An obstinate Pagan might arm himself with patience and resolution, to vex his persecutors, and rather fall into them, than decline them, out of spite and contumacy. But self-love being spun out of our bowels, bred in the bone; who could rejoice to endure anguish upon anguish, that God might be glorified, but by strength which we are not born unto, but which is given us, because we are born again of the Spirit?

Go farther yet. How much is the content of a natural man laid aside, when a good Christian in his deliberate thoughts sometimes prays to have the rebellions of his heart kept under by some expedient cross? wisheth for wholesome correction to beat down the rankness of his sins? expects God's fan to winnow the chaff from the wheat? For he knows that as too much light dazzles the eyes, so too much prosperity surfeits the mind. Therefore, a good practitioner in repentance perceives there is no better way to bring him in from his wanderings, than to be scourged home with the gentle hand of God. To which, some expositors say, the spouse alludes (reading one word as it is right in our margin), "Turn away thine eyes from me, for they have puffed me up[t]." If we be puffed up, it is time to pray that the eye of God's outward mercy be for a little turned from us. But where had nature learnt that lesson, if the Holy Ghost had never taught it?

Thirdly; as the apostle says, "No man hates his own flesh." Every man, not overcome with a phrenzy of melancholy, loves his own being, and would preserve his life. The devil, that cannot die, knows how loth we are to die: "All that a man hath, will he give for his life[u]." But how many saints have undergone, how many more are willing to undergo the fiery trial, and offer up their bodies for the testimony of the Lord Jesus? not to be cried up in popularity:

[r] 2 Cor. xii. 10. [s] 2 Cor. vii. 4. [t] Cant. vi. 5. [u] Job, ii. 4.

not to be enrolled in the fame of a history, as there was such a sprinkling among the heathen. But they have died like lambs in the midst of wolves, when they have been hated, and evil spoken of in excess, because they would die for the truth of the Gospel, which their persecutors accounted to be blasphemy against the gods which they worshipped. If parents, or wives, or children, hung upon their arms, and besought them with tears to spare themselves, they threw them off as Christ did Peter, "Get thee behind me, Satan, thou art an offence unto me[x]." To see a martyr at the point of death feel no horror in his fleshly nature, but to be raised up as high as the third heavens with zeal; what human power could bring him to it? nothing but the Holy Ghost did, as I may say, lure his soul out of the body, with the bait of a crown of glory.

Fourthly; "The fruits of the Spirit are love, joy, peace, goodness, faith, temperance[y]," &c. Is not the tree known by the fruit? Such a cluster hanging all together, growing constantly, and being fair and sound (Tota, in toto tempore, cum toto corde), it is not possible they should grow like a bulrush out of the mud of corrupt nature. "No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost[z]," that is, say it effectually, and from true allegiance to serve him as a Lord; for else Christ will say, "Why call you me Lord, Lord, and do not the thing which I say[a]?" This is the Spirit that acts not only in prophecies and miraculous gifts, but in every child of God. Even in the Old Testament, "Thou gavest thy good Spirit to instruct them[b]:" 'them,' that is, those that were led out of Egypt by Moses, and hearkened to him. And much more in the state of the New Testament; "The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us[c]."

This might be extended into a great length, that the Holy Ghost is the Comforter, called so by appropriation, though it belong to every person of the Holy Trinity, and is well expressed in the first Divine Song, which is printed before the Psalms of David in metre:

[x] Matth. xvi. 23. [y] Gal. v. 22. [z] 1 Cor. xii. 3.
[a] Luke, vi. 46. [b] Nehem. ix. 20. [c] Rom. v. 5.

"Thou art the very Comforter
In all woe and distress;
The heavenly gift of God most high,
Which no tongue can express."

This is "the unction, which we have from the Holy One[d];" "the anointing which we have received of him that abideth in you[e];" anointing oil is an oil to cure the sick[f]: "an oil of gladness[g];" a fomentation to mitigate aches and torments in the bones, and in the heart.

2. And can the fruits choose but be answerable to the root? they must needs partake of it. First, because all that we do to the honour of God, must be done with gladness, willingly, and cheerfully: else it comes not from the spirit of sons, but either from the spirit of bondage, or rather from the spirit of the world. The new disciples received the word gladly, and were baptized[h]. They continued with one accord daily in the temple, "with gladness, and simplicity of heart[i]." "I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the house of the Lord[k]." "Sing psalms, make a joyful noise unto God[l]." "Let us come with assurance in our supplications that we shall be heard, praying with faith in the Holy Ghost[m]." "And then the prayer of the upright shall be God's delight[n];" and why God's delight, but because his servants delight in prayer? "He that sheweth mercy, let him do it with cheerfulness[o]." And he that giveth, offereth a blemished sacrifice, if he do it grudgingly: "For God loveth a cheerful giver[p]." Not so much but our losses and tribulations must be sustained with gladness. "Thy rod and thy staff do comfort me[q]." Enter into the combat willingly, and the continuance will be a pleasure. Our consolation aboundeth by Christ: for "as ye are partakers of the sufferings, so shall ye be also of the consolation[r]." Therefore the apostles did change the name of a famous disciple, called Joses, into a notion of this theme, and called him Barnabas, which is, being interpreted, "The son of consolation[s]." The rabbies of

[d] 1 Epist. John, ii. 20.
[e] Verse 27.
[f] James, v.
[g] Psalm xlv.
[h] Acts, ii. 41.
[i] Verse 46.
[k] Psalm cxxii. 1.
[l] Psalm lxvi. 1.
[m] Jude, ver. 20.
[n] Prov. xv. 8.
[o] Rom. xii. 8.
[p] 2 Cor. ix. 7.
[q] Psalm xxiii. 4.
[r] 2 Cor. i. 7.
[s] Acts, iv. 36.

the Jews hold themselves very close to this doctrine, and would have it observed, that 'the merrier the heart is in the Lord, the more capable it is of the Spirit of God:' partly, because Miriam, when she prophesied of the mighty acts of Jehovah, took a timbrel in her hand and danced[t]: partly, because that Samuel, after he had anointed Saul to be king over Israel, told Saul, "Thou shalt meet a company of prophets coming down from the high place, with a psaltery, a tabret, a pipe, and a harp; and they shall prophesy, and the Spirit of the Lord will come upon thee, and thou shalt prophesy with them, and shalt be turned into another man[u]." More emphatically, when Jehoshaphat called for Elisha to inquire of the Lord; says Elisha, "Bring me a minstrel: and it came to pass when the minstrel played, that the hand of the Lord came upon him[x];" that by the ravishing strains of music, his mind might be exalted into heavenly contemplations. Which is a great check to that drowsy dulness in devotion, which our late reformers have brought in, and have excluded the solemn melody of the organ, and the raptures of warbling and sweet voices out of cathedral choirs. They that miss that harmony, can best tell, how it was wont to raise up their spirit, and, as it were, to carry it out of them to the choir in heaven. And beside, cheerfulness is not only an adjunct, or companion with all the works of grace, in that time they are bringing forth: but being done and finished, that which is "post-nate," the after-birth, as I may call it, comes with such a gleam gliding over all the soul, with such serenity and peace of mind as cannot be expressed; our conscience bearing us witness that we have been conversant in doing the pleasure of the Lord, as it is, "For our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, we have had our conversation in the world[y]."

Here I shall find work to heal the broken in heart, who look upon the fruits of their lives with no content in themselves, but are unsolaced, and cast down, because neither in number, nor in weight, have they brought in that which the Lord required: they look on their ways, and they find them

[t] Exod. xv. 20.
[u] 1 Sam. x. 5, 6.
[x] 2 Kings, iii. 15.
[y] 2 Cor. i. 12.

crooked: they look on their heart, and they find it is not constant to good purposes. To whom I rejoin; if this proceed from penitence, from quick sense of sin, from humility, which is opposite to a self-justifying, they have cause to praise God, that they are thus affected. Let them look narrowly if this gold (for it may prove no worse) be current, when it is brought to the touch-stone; then they may lift up their eyes, and look cheerfully towards Christ; for it is no flattery to say, they are under his grace and mercy. Deal clearly, that you are astonished at your frailties, because you think you can never work enough, never shun sin enough; and though your conscience condemn you, God will afford you equity against the rigour of conscience: for he that searcheth the heart, "knoweth what is the mind of the spirit[z]." We are conceived in sin, and it is so intimate unto us, that we have no promise to be so spiritualized in this life, that we shall not often trespass. "God hath concluded all in sin, all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all[a]." But it is one thing to fall into sin, another thing to run into it. One thing to be carried away by the passions of it, another to covet, and desire it. One thing to be overtaken in a fault, another thing to abide in it without repentance. And great odds between those that are given over to please themselves in filthiness, and between them that labour and desire to please God, though many times they attain not to perfect that willingness. The scope of the seventh chapter to the Romans, as I apprehend the mind of the apostle, is, to refresh our guilty consciences, that a regenerate man is not obnoxious to condemnation, though his flesh, upon some temptations, make him the servant of sin, because still in his mind he serves the law of God. And I am confirmed in that sense, because without all contradiction he teacheth the like doctrine: "The flesh and the spirit are contrary one to another, so that we cannot do the thing that we would[b]."

And will the righteous God require more of a sick and feeble servant, than his best endeavour? Will not Christ accept from us the same that he did from Mary, that broke the

[z] Rom. viii. 27. [a] Rom. xi. 32. [b] Gal. v. 17.

box of ointment over his head; "She hath done what she could[c]?" Let a contrite heart, that would fain be righteous, remember the prayer of Nehemiah: "Let thine ear be attentive to the prayer of thy servants, who desire to fear thy name[d]:" or the protestation of St. Paul; "We trust we have a good conscience, in all things, willing to live honestly[e]." But this desire and willingness must be without hypocrisy; not like iron that is gilded, base metal within, and rich without: it must be steady, industrious, instant to perform. Vehement holy desire is a great degree to perfection in our state; "For the beginning of wisdom is the desire of discipline[f]," but a lazy careless desire is a great token of imperfection. "The soul of the sluggard desireth, and hath nothing[g];" and again, "the desire of the slothful killeth him, for his hands refuse to labour[h];" like vagabonds, that when an officer catcheth them, will feign that they desire a service, and to be set at work: but take them at their word, and they will run away, that they may live in loitering, and upon other men's labours. St. Paul, provoking both rich and poor to liberality, according to their respective abilities, frames a rule upon that occasion, which is applicable to all good works. "If there be a willing mind, it is accepted according to that which a man hath, and not according to that which he hath not[i]." Yea, in some cases, when I desire a good thing, I am at my furthest. I desire the appearance of the Lord Jesus at the great day. Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly. I can do no more. I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ. I must do no more: for I must not attempt my own dissolution. I wish for the conversion of the Jews to the faith; I must not compel them. This holds in a few things. In the most willingness must show some practice; as in the same chapter: "Now, therefore, perform the doing of it: that as there was a readiness to will, so there may be a performance also of that which you have[k]." But to desire to do, and to do little, is a sign that there was little desire. This hath overthrown many, that they desire not to reach high. But we

[c] Mark, xiv. 8. [d] Nehemiah, i. 11. [e] Heb. xiii. 18.
[f] Wisd. vi. 17. [g] Prov. xiii. 4. [h] Prov. xxi. 25.
[i] 2 Cor. viii. 12. [k] Verse 11.

know that God gives his grace by talents, and not in petty sums; yet a lukewarm professor can be content with mites. Could such a one get a moderate competency of righteousness, knowing that "without holiness no man shall see God," then he would sit down, and let others strive, if they like it, to be the tallest cedars in the house of the Lord.

There are many such indifferent disciples, that would be always babes, and never come to a manly growth; wrap themselves about with as many fig-leaves as would cover their shame, and think they want no more apparel. These, if they knew what it were to a dram, that would serve them to attain salvation, — they would reach so far if the grace of God would assist them; but would put themselves to no trouble to purify their body and spirit any further. Here's a pretence of desire to serve God, but with so much laziness, with so much lethargy, that the Lord disdains it as dead carrion. He would serve God, and he would serve mammon. He approves much prayer, but he cannot attend it. He would not for all the world but be a Christian; yet a small share in profit, or a snap at a little pleasure, will pervert him to be a dishonest Christian. But real and holy desire stands up for much, though it cannot do so much honour to God as he would: like the disease 'ephialtes,' that oppresseth us in the night, between sleeping and waking, we would turn to the other side of the bed, and cannot. But to shake off this 'incubus,' it listens after all the noble exploits that the saints of God have done, and would exactly follow them; or, if it were possible, run before them: if not, it will be heartily sorry that frailty makes it come short of the best. It would compound for no less than to pay all, if it were able. Then you shall find the heart pant often with these inward yearnings: 'Sweet Saviour, should any of thy servants love thee better than I? should any of thy disciples be more obedient than I? No, Lord: for none of thine are so much indebted to thy passion, because none had so many sins to be forgiven. How amiable are thy commandments, O Lord of hosts! my soul thirsteth to be the nearest of them, that shall stand before the presence of the living God. Lord, let me love thee, as Peter did; Lord, let me love thee more than these!'

So I have revealed the first comforts flowing from the Holy Ghost, by his inhabitation, and inward testimony: and

the next comforts by the fruits of righteousness, and those sincere desires of godliness, which, by Christ's merciful interpretation, supply our failings. All which I conclude out of our church-song made to the Holy Ghost.

Visit our minds, and into us
Thy heavenly grace inspire,
That in all truth and godliness
We may have true desire.

CHAPTER IV.

Prayer is the great Instrument of a Christian's Comfort. Concerning Prayer, three things to be considered: I. *The Substance or Matter of Prayer, in three Heads;* 1. *Thanksgivings;* 2. *Supplications;* 3. *Intercessions:* II. *The Qualifications of them that pray:* III. *The Fitness of Time for Prayer.*

THE order laid down in the beginning carries me to the fourth part of Christian consolation,— the heavenly delight of prayer. It is the lively expression of faith, the ambassador which hope sends to God, the comfort of love, the fellowship of the Spirit, our advocate unto our advocate Christ Jesus; our incense, whose smoke ascends up, and is sweet in the nostrils of the Most High; which promiseth such abundant success, that humility had rather conceive than utter it, lest we should seem to boast. A lowly supplicant to God never rose up from his knees, without some stirrings of gracious expectation, nor without a prophetical instinct that the mercy of the Lord was nigh at hand. Which fortunate presage Isaiah confirms unto us[a], "I will make them joyful in my house of prayer." And how readily may we use this mighty ordinance of God? how soon it may be done, if we have a mind to it? What freedom have we (no man can deny it) to utter a brief prayer, and very often, if we will, in the greatest toil and business? "The tongue of the stammerer shall be ready to speak elegantly[b]." It is so facile a part of religion, as he that hath a tongue, can scarce miss it. It is as easy to say "Our Father which art in

[a] Chap. lvi. 7. [b] Isaiah, xxxii. 4.

heaven," as to see heaven, which is always in our eye. Every sect of pagans and idolaters were taught by instinct to fly unto it 'ex tempore;' as the heathen mariners cried every man to his god[c]. An atheist, falling into a sudden danger, as suppose a pistol were put to his breast, would cry out as soon to God to help him as any true believer. And he that, upon deliberation, did say there was no God, will break out into a confession, before he is aware, that there is a God, by natural impulsion. A poor whelp hath found a way to lick its own sores whole with its tongue; so when we are oppressed with misery, whether the evil of sin or the evil of punishment, we are prompted, by the natural notions of our soul, to lick the sore with our tongue; that is, to call for help from Heaven. That soul which God did breathe into man, cannot shake off this principle—that all succour comes from above, for which it must breathe out itself unto God. No creature among beasts, but, being smitten, will fall upon the way to relieve itself, except a blind, incogitant sinner. Such as have written upon their sagacity in that kind, tell us, that the fishes in the fresh water, being struck with a tool of iron, will rub themselves upon the glutinous skin of the tench to be cured. The hart, wounded with an arrow, runs to the herb dittany to bite it, that the shaft may fall out that stuck in his body. The swallow will seek out the green tetterwort, to recover the eyes of her young ones, when they are blinded. Only a stupid sinner forgets how to redintegrate his miserable estate, by throwing himself down prostrate before God in humble petition. He walks forward, lost to himself, lost to his right wits, because he hath no knowledge, or no good opinion, of the comfort of prayer. Which is my purpose to make him learn, by that which follows, looking upon, I. The substance or matter of prayer: II. The qualification of him that prayeth: and, III. The fitness of time when prayer is to be made.

I. The 'matter of prayer' is as copious as all occasions that can be named; it will suffice for my purpose to treat of three heads: 'Glorifications with thanksgivings, Supplications, and Intercessions.'

1. The first is bent to magnify the Almighty, to extol his

[c] Jonah, i. 5.

name, to praise him for his goodness. This is the Hallelujah of David, and of the saints in heaven; that is, give glory to Jah, or the great Jehovah; which is followed with a rare variety in the song of the three children: "O, all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord, praise him, and magnify him for ever!" It is a ditty that is balsamed all over with a profusion of delight, to praise God from all things that he hath made, from the centre of the earth to the top of heaven. And this is most divinely expressed in that which is called St. Ambrose's hymn in our common prayer: "We praise thee, O God, we acknowledge thee to be the Lord." And let the servant of God that will listen to me, repeat it often and often: for it is a piece of devotion so sweetly spread out into the branches of heavenly praise, confession of faith, and devout petitions, that the like did never come forth since the time it was penned. Let me speak to others out of the sense of my own heart, and I may safely profess, that in the service and worship of God, I find nothing so delightful as to continue in the praise and honour of the Lord. If another contradict it, and say, that there are some means more aptly calculated, as I may speak, for the high meridian of comfort; he is he, and I am I, and I appeal from him to myself, what I find in my own motions and feelings. And "what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of a man which is in him[d]?" And observe that in the prudent institution of our church, to hold forth the consolation we have in Christ, after the participation of his body and blood in the blessed sacrament, it teacheth us to break out all together into a jubilee, "Glory be to God on high; we praise thee, we bless thee, we glorify thee," &c. For when we are full of that holy feast, and have eaten angels' food, we fall into the tune of angels, and signify immediately, before we depart, how much our spirit rejoiceth in God our Saviour.

But who knew better the mind of the Lord than the Spirit itself, in those admirable ecstasies of David? "Sing praises unto God; for it is pleasant[e]." "Sing praises unto our God; for it is pleasant, and praise is comely[f]." "Sing aloud unto God our strength; make a joyful noise unto the

[d] 1 Cor. ii. 11. [e] Psalm cxxxv. 3. [f] Psalm cxlvii. 1.

God of Jacob[g]." Every furrow in the book of the Psalms is sown with such seeds. I know nothing more certain, more constant, to expel the sadness of the world, than to sound out the praises of the Lord as with a trumpet: and when the heart is cast down, it will make it rebound from earth to heaven. This was the wisdom of the holy church throughout all the world, (till distempers put us out of the right way not long since,) to solemnize the praise of our Saviour upon the feasts of Christmas, Easter, &c.; that we might celebrate the great works which God hath done for us, "with the voice of joy, and praise, and with a multitude that kept holiday[h]." O give thanks unto the Lord, by telling of his mercy and salvation from day to day: Give thanks unto him with cheerfulness, for a joyful and pleasant thing it is to be thankful. Who is a just man, and fair conditioned, that would not pay a debt, and be exonerated of it? He that can say he hath paid what he owed, is it not a quietness to his mind to be discharged?

It goes further a great deal, and brings more advantage, when we offer up the sacrifice of retribution, the incense of thanksgiving unto the Lord; for we draw on more benefits, when we declare the goodness of the Lord upon the receipt of the old. And the gratuitum which God gives, is a thousandfold greater than the present which we bring. This is proposed to them that will fly high from the pinnacle of the Lord's prayer, the first petition, "hallowed be thy name."

2. Neither let them faint, that stoop low in supplication: for mercy will embrace them on every side. Two things being put together are of much weight: we pray with God's Spirit, and by his word. He invites us in his word to pray, and he gives the gift with which we pray. "I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and supplications[i]." Did he pour upon us his grace? and have we received a commandment, the outward sign of his will? and can we suspect, after all this, that he will put us off, and deny us? Is his grace given in vain? or hath he sent his word to delude us? He hath kindled a fire in our breasts, and it is a heavenly flame that burns within us. "Lord, though we are vile and

[g] Psalm lxxxi. 1. [h] Psalm xlii. 4. [i] Zech. xii. 10.

despicable, thou canst not despise the acting of thine own Spirit, nor frustrate thine own operations. Or do we come unbidden, when we cast ourselves down in thy presence? Nay, Lord, thou hast beckoned and called us: "Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden." Hold fast to these two, and who can forbid us to be comforted? The Lord bids us pray, and he gives us a heart to pray. For it is not strange to his mercy (perhaps it is strange to man's conceit) to give us strength to bring forth that obedience, both to will and to do, which himself hath commanded:—as he gave the Blessed Virgin strength to bring forth the babe, who was conceived and formed in her womb by the Holy Ghost.

This I do the rather enforce, because we can see no comfort in ourselves: therefore, as I derive all the virtue and spirituality that is in prayer, from the efficacy of grace,—so I refer all the success to Christ, in whom "we are blessed with all spiritual blessings[k]." "Whatsoever ye ask the Father in my name, he will give it[l]." But he and his Father are one; therefore he says, "If ye shall ask the Father any thing in my name, I will do it[m]." If we had no better means to God than ourselves and our own merits, there were no hope to speed: nay, our hearts would be as faint and dead, as if we heard ourselves denied before we had opened our lips: but we conclude, as it is in the most of our collects, "through Christ our Lord." When we bring that name in the rear, and quote him for our merit and Mediator, then I know it will be well, and that the Lord will hear the petitions of his servants. Should we not put our requests into Christ's hand to offer them to his Father, Sion might spread forth her complaints, and there would be none to comfort her; and we might remain for ever in that heavy plight. "I remembered God, and was troubled: I complained, and my spirit was overwhelmed[n]." But if we renounce our wretched selves, and imagine not the least intrinsical perfection to be in our prayers, do we sail then by the Cape of Good Hope? Yes; because God is contented to yield upon such addresses. Jacob may wrestle

[k] Eph. i. 3.
[l] John, xv. 16.
[m] John, xiv. 14.
[n] Psalm lxxvii. 3.

with the angel all night, and protest he will not let him go till he have blessed him. But "victus est quia voluit:" God "was overcome, because he would be overcome" of Jacob: he lets us prevail, because he is willing to yield: but there is no strength in us to win, if he would not suffer himself to be vanquished.

There is no other person but Christ, in whom the Father (I know not what kind of necessity to call it) cannot but be well pleased; which made him say before his disciples[o], "Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me, and I know that thou hearest me always:" as it is also[p], "Who in the days of his flesh, when he had offered up prayers and supplications, with strong crying and tears, was heard for his piety." This is the pre-eminence of our High Priest, who is an orator for us all, that the Lord cannot reject his prayers. Therefore, committing our daily orisons to our High Priest, to bear them into the Holy of Holies before his Father, they are in a sure hand: and "they that know his name, will put their trust in thee[q]:" much more they that know his office perfectly. Wherefore let prayer carry on these considerations with it; that we are invited by God to that duty: that the Spirit instigates us unto it, and "helps our infirmities[r]." That it is presented to the Father by the mediation of the Son; then how canst thou be sad, O my soul, and fear to miscarry? Is not the lot fallen unto thee in a pleasant field? and mayest thou not promise to thyself a very goodly heritage?

II. Without all dispute, then, proceed unto prayer, and for a beginning, 1. "Ask in faith[s];" that is, attribute unto God that he is almighty, and can do above all that we can ask or think: consent to his truth, that he is faithful in his promises: for he that believeth not those, makes God a liar. Acknowledge his goodness and mercy through Christ, that he will withhold no good thing from them that live a godly life. Let there be no wavering, no disputing about these attributes of God, lest we be condemned out of our own mouth. So much faith, so much efficacy, so much confidence, so much comfort in prayer.

Then will a solicitous Christian reply, 'What will become

[o] John, xi. 41. [p] Heb. v. 7. [q] Psalm ix. 10.
[r] Rom. viii. 26. [s] James, i. 6.

of me? I have not that plenitude of faith: at least, in sundry occasions, I have it not to ascertain myself that I shall prevail with God.' No more had Abraham himself a perfect faith without any flaw. Excellent things are spoken of him, "who against hope believed in hope: and that he staggered not at the promise, but was strong in faith[t]." Yet see how he stooped a little: "Shall a son be born unto him that is a hundred years old? and shall Sarah, that is ninety years old, bear! O that Ishmael may live[u]!" God is not extreme to mark what is done amiss in every convulsion of faith:—which appears[x], "I said in my haste, I am cast out of thine eyes: nevertheless, thou heardest the voice of my supplication, when I cried unto thee." You must be sure that, in general, David subscribed to the power, and truth, and goodness of God: but there was a temptation upon him at that time, in some particular case, in which he distrusted, or doubted, that there was no likelihood to prevail. But if there be such a one that says, 'I will pray, but I know I shall be never the better,' he is an infidel, and mocks God: in that bad mind he did well to say, 'he should be never the better:' for he did usurp a form of godliness, and denied the power thereof.

He is the right supplicant, but a very rare one, that hath no staggering or diffidence in his heart, that comes close up to our Saviour's rule, "Whatsoever things ye desire when ye pray, believe that ye receive them, and ye shall have them[y]." Yet the Lord will not cast them off, who are but in the next form, and do not resolutely promise success unto themselves in the instant of their present supplications: but bear it thus between faith and doubting, 'whether I shall succeed in this or that, I am not confident, but of this I am most assured, that I shall be the better for my prayers. And I would it were thus and thus, because I conceive it would be best for me: but I am certain it will be better than the best that I can imagine, which the Lord knows to be most expedient.'

Another, perhaps, may wrangle himself into an error, and say, 'How do the heathen and the wicked obtain good

[t] Rom. iv. 20.
[u] Gen. xvii. 18.
[x] Psalm xxxi. 22.
[y] Mark, xi. 24.

things, if nothing will prevail with God but the prayer of faith?' Consider that even a pagan and idolater would never pray, but that they have some kind of belief to obtain fruit by their prayers. The king of Nineveh had a solemn fast at the hearing of Jonah's prophecy; "for," says he, "who can tell if God will turn, and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, that we perish not[z]?" None but a lunatic would ask for relief from them, that hath neither knowledge of his case, nor power to redress it.—'O, but the prayers of such are not grounded on the faith that we speak of.' It is true: such a faith as possessed idolaters, is not that which impetrates mercy from God. Then I say, neither Jews, nor Mahometans, nor wicked men, get any thing by that prayer, to which the promise is made, "Ask, and ye shall have." For whether they pray or not, all that they obtain, had come to pass, though they had held their peace. It is for our sins, and to scourge us, that they have kingdoms, and victories; it is not their motley-faith that did purchase them. And for all manner of store and plenty that the earth yields to them, it is but as God gives fodder to the cattle, and meat to the young ravens that call upon him.

2. The prayer of faith, then, is only available, but out of the mouth of an humble suitor. For who will give an alms to a proud beggar? "Thus saith the high and lofty One, that inhabiteth eternity; I dwell with him that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones[a]." Let the comparison between the publican and the Pharisee remain for ever in our memory[b]. The prayer of the poor destitute, the contrite, the penitent, the bleeding heart, is a sacrifice well seasoned with the salt of anguish and misery. Away with high looks and high words. "Lord, thou dost hear the desire of the humble, and dost prepare their heart[c]." And "God comforteth those that are cast down[d]." Put yourself back, who are but dust and ashes, in a great distance from the Lord, that you may behold him the better in his infinite greatness. And a lowly heart will never spare to deject the body. "O come, let us worship and fall down, and kneel

[z] Jonah, iii. 9. [a] Isaiah, lvii. 15. [b] Luke, xviii.
[c] Psalm x. 17. [d] 2 Cor. vii. 6.

before the Lord our Maker." Solomon prayed upon his knees[e]; so did Daniel[f]; so did Peter, when messengers came to him from Cornelius[g]; so St. Paul: "For this cause, I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus[h]." And not only men upon earth, but the glorious spirits in heaven, cast themselves and their crowns down before him that sitteth on the throne[i]. Nay, the Son of God fell down upon his knees, and prayed unto his Father[k].

And fasting, which is a pregnant circumstance of humiliation, was much in use with prayer; the instances are innumerous, to signify we had no part in any comfort, nor any delight in the creatures, till we were reconciled to the Lord. So was sackcloth used; and all apparel of beauty, all ornaments of riches and pride, were put off for that time. Let them be no more than outward circumstances; yet they are significant.

But that which is a sure companion, and most intimate to humility in prayer, is patience. It breaks not away in a pet, because it is not answered at the first or second asking; that is disdainful and arrogant. It holds on, and attends, and cries till the throat is dry: "I waited patiently for the Lord[l]." And there must be "patient continuance in them that seek for glory and immortality[m]." Faith is the foundation of prayer: and, to continue the metaphor, patience is the roof. The winds blow: look to the foundation, or the building will fall. Rain and storms will descend: but if they light upon a roof that is close and compact, they run aside, and are cast upon the ground. He that expects God's pleasure from day to day, will neither faint nor fret, that his suit hangs long in the court of requests; such storms as proceed from murmuring, cannot beat through a solid roof. Says Habakkuk[n], A great thing will the Lord bring to pass, but not presently, says the Lord: "the vision is yet for an appointed time, but at the end it shall speak, and not lie: though it tarry, wait for it, because it will surely come." Many diseases will never be cured well, unless they be long a curing; and many deliverances will never be thoroughly settled, unless they be long a preparing; and many mercies

[e] 2 Chron. vi. 13. [f] Chap. vi. [g] Acts, x.
[h] Ephes. iii. 14. [i] Rev. iv. [k] Luke, xxii. 41.
[l] Psalm xl. 1. [m] Rom. ii. 7. [n] Habak. ii. 3.

are hid, like seed in the ground, and will be long a growing.

I give God thanks that every blessing of worldly comfort that I prayed for, the longer I was kept from it, and the more I prayed for it, I found it the greater in the end.

Observe that there is nothing of moment, yea, be it of lesser and vulgar size, with which the providence of God hath not interwoven a thousand things to be despatched with it, which requires time, perhaps seven years, to finish them. Expect, therefore, from the divine wisdom, to do all things in their order; and give honour to the Supreme Majesty to wait his leisure. "For yet a little, and he that shall come, will come, and will not tarry[o]."

3. The third thing which gives assurance of comfort to prayer, is zeal, devotion, fervency, which will pluck on patience further and further. For he that is zealous in any thing will not easily give over till he have brought his ends to pass. Zeal is a continual and an earnest supplicant, it prays "without ceasing[p];" prays "exceedingly[q];" asks with confidence, seeks with diligence, knocks with perseverance. A swarm of bees, that is, many thousands, must gather into a hive to fill it with honeycombs: and a swarm of prayers is sweeter before the Lord than the honey and the honeycomb.

Likewise, it is as vehement as it is assiduous, "labouring fervently for you in prayers[r]." Stir up your wit, and diligence, and memory, and meditations, when you come to spread out your wants before your Father: but if you yawn out your heedless, heartless petitions, you shall depart with discouragement; as it is[s], "O Lord God of hosts, how long wilt thou be angry with the prayer of thy people?" The Laodiceans were lukewarm, neither hot nor cold, in the worship of God: therefore, the Spirit said to the angel of that church, "Be zealous, and repent[t]." Zeal is defined to be "a vehement and inflamed love." There must be an ardour, and a flame in prayer, as if we would mount it up like fire to heaven. Then we may say, that a seraphim hath laid a coal from the altar upon our mouth, and touched

[o] Heb. x. 37. [p] 1 Thess. v. 17. [q] 1 Thess. iii. 10.
[r] Coloss. iv. 12. [s] Psalm lxxx. 4. [t] Rev. iii. 19.

our lips[u]. Zeal takes away the soul for a time, and carries it far above us. I write to them that have felt it, that it darts a man's spirit out of him, like an arrow out of a bow. This is it which infallibly begets hope, comfort, patience, all in a sheaf,—as they are divinely put together[x]: "Fervent in spirit, serving the Lord, rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation, continuing instant in prayer."

The transportment of zeal will excuse, or rather commend some ejaculations of prayer, which seem to be too bold with God; as, "How long wilt thou turn away thy face from us, O Lord? and forgettest our misery and trouble[y]." So, "Why shouldst thou be as a man asleep? and as a mighty man that cannot save us[z]?" And we do but follow our Saviour's pattern in it upon the cross, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Tell not a troubled heart that is in anguish, tell it not of modesty: it is a compliment it will not be tied to. The Shunamite, swallowed up in sorrow for the loss of her child, runs to mount Carmel to Elisha, and before she said any thing, she caught him fast by the feet. Gehazi thought it irreverent and unwomanlike behaviour, and laid hold to thrust her away: "Let her alone," says the prophet, "for her soul is vexed within her[a]." The passions of an afflicted soul have much indulgence to break out far. They are not in good compass, till vehemency of zeal carry them beyond ordinary rule and fashion. Mary Magdalen did more than this the first time she came to our Saviour[b]; she came into a strange house without leave and admittance: into the house of a Pharisee, and those hypocrites would not admit suspected sinners: she takes opportunity to come at dinner-time, being a guest unbidden: she gives no salutation to the company, but falls down at our Saviour's feet, and lays her kisses thick upon them: says a holy writer to it,—it is Gregory the Great,—'Hast thou no forehead, woman? hath modesty quite left thee?' And he answers himself, 'Mimimè, pudor intus erat:' 'that which she was ashamed of, was within her;' she was so ashamed of her sins, that she forgat all other shamefacedness. You see that zeal will pardon boldness, and will give authority to prayer to

[u] Isaiah, vi. 7. [x] Rom. xii. 11, 12. [y] Psalm xliv.
[z] Jer. xiv. 9. [a] 2 Kings, iv. 27. [b] Luke, vii. 37.

expostulate with God, and hath a toleration, as it were, to quarrel with his mercy.

Now a Christian, sensible of many imperfections, will cry out, 'O that I could attain to some degrees of zeal! I am no Shunamite, no Mary Magdalen, no Paul, fervent in spirit. I am carried away with distractions, when I speak unto the Lord in prayer; and through the multitude of various thoughts, I forget what I am about.' O Christ, help our frailties, and keep our minds fixed upon thee, when we ask any thing in thy name. One body cannot be in two places at once: and one heart cannot be in heaven and earth together. O let us cover our faces with the wings of the cherubims[c]; that we may not see enticements to distract us. Watch and pray: watch this wandering heart, that it may not be stolen away by fancies, that move in our mind continually, like motes in the beams of the sun. Defy Satan, and bid him abandon. As they that have committed a robbery, run away from a hue and cry,—so the devil will run away from the noise of your supplications, when you challenge him for sacrilege, that he hath robbed you of your devotion.

To do more yet, I will assay to prescribe a remedy to a disease, I fear, not quite to be cured. But first feel your own pulse, and your fitness for the heavenly work of prayer before you begin it. See that you be not drowsy and slothful: for a sluggard will be encumbered with various and recurrent thoughts. Neither would I have you to protract prayer to that length, which otherwise you would have done, when your mind and devotion fail you. Short and pithy prayers, collects well filled with words and matter, and not protracted till they may be censured for babbling, are more prevalent with God, when zeal doth manage them, than to spend out time without a fervent and well fixed intention. The prayers of the great saints in Scripture are compendious, they are strong in sense, and speak home. A rose is sweeter in the bud, than in the blown flower: and what you abate at one time, in length, to anticipate distraction, you may fill up the measure when you will, by using them the oftener. I have known some servants of God, very circumspect in their ways, that use, for the most part, to read their prayers

[c] Isaiah, vi. 2.

either printed or written, that seeing the matter of them before their eyes, they might the better contain themselves from all extravagancies. To which end, it is prescribed in the church of Rome, though a priest can say the mass by heart, yet he must read it out of his book, to keep the closer to the intention of his duty. But when all is said, happy are they that offend least in this kind: for all offend.

And whom can we blame but ourselves, that are remiss, and not half so earnest as we should be, to prevail with God? Which I demonstrate thus: let there be any thing in our prayers, which we are more eagerly set upon to obtain than all the rest, we will never start aside, nor run out of our circle when we come to that petition. 'Animus est ubi amat,' 'The mind is with that, and in that which it loves.' If we did long for every member of our prayer, as much as for that special thing, which we did so eminently desire, we would continue, from the beginning to the end of prayer, with little or no diversion.

This bottom is not wound up till I give a warning to zeal, as it is[d], "It is good to be zealously affected always in a good thing." Look that your petitions be modelled into such things, as the word and Spirit do appoint, and stir you up to ask, and "you shall not be ashamed of your sacrifice[e]." But if you be frivolous, the prophet will tell you again, "Ye have sown the wind, and ye shall reap the whirlwind[f]." Or the apostle tells you plainly, "Ye ask and receive not, because ye ask amiss[g]." Ask for the kingdom of heaven, for the maintenance of God's glory, for newness of life, and obedience to the will of God; ask for pardon of sins in Christ Jesus, for grace in the Holy Ghost to resist temptations; ask our offended Father for mercy, to be delivered from the wrath which we have deserved: and let the seventh part of our prayer be for the things of this life, and for them with moderation, according to that port and person which we bear in the world, and be content with the portion allotted to you: aim by this level, and you hit the mark. What mighty blessings did fall upon Solomon, because he desired not the advantages of pomp and luxury, when God put it to

[d] Gal. v. 13. [e] Hos. iv. 19.
[f] Hos. viii. 7. [g] James, iv. 3.

him in a dream what to ask! He desired an understanding and a wise heart: and "the speech pleased the Lord that Solomon had asked this thing[k]."

3. Intercessions, that is, prayers wherein we mediate to God for others, must now be thought of, and the comfort redounding from them. The duty is strictly commanded, to pray for one another[l]. And, "I will that intercessions be made for all men, for kings, and all that are in authority[k]." When we do so, we have done what we are bidden: and having done that, albeit we are unprofitable servants to God, we are not uncomfortable to ourselves. For it is the first part of the reward of a good deed, that we can say to our conscience 'we have done it.' Beside, the work of love is delightful to the spirit; and to help others in our prayers is the largest and widest work of charity, willing to do good to all upon the face of the earth, and stretching forth its hands that the whole world may be better for the calves of our lips. Chiefly commending the whole state of Christ's church to God's mercy, yet also (as may be seen in our Collect used on Good-Friday) not forgetting to remember Christ for Jews, Turks, infidels, heretics, to take from them ignorance, hardness of heart, and contempt of the word: not only that the sheep of Christ's pasture might be blessed, but that it might be well with Nero, and such as he, that were the lions who devoured us. This is charity, not only to have communion with all the saints, but compassion for all the world. Therein we follow the footsteps of Christ in his mediatorship, as far as we are able, who hath an "unchangeable priesthood, and ever lives to make intercession for us[l]." And "who bare the sins of many, and made intercession for the transgressors[m]."

Likewise it is the office of those that have great interest in God's favour, to bless others with their prayers, as the Lord told Abimelech, king of Gerar, "Abraham is a prophet, and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live[n]." So he said to Eliphaz the Temanite, and to his other two friends, "My servant [Job] shall pray for you, for him will I accept[o]."

[k] 1 Kings, iii. 10. [l] James, v. 16. [k] 1 Tim. ii. 1.
[l] Heb. vii. 25. [m] Isaiah, liii. 12. [n] Gen. xx. 7.
[o] Job, xlii. 8, 9.

All Israel had been destroyed for worshipping the calf in Horeb, "had not Moses his chosen stood before him in the breach, to turn away his wrath[p]." 'What!' says an old writer, 'art thou, Moses, more merciful than God? art thou more pitiful to the people than he that saves us from all evil? No,' says he, 'thou art infinite short of the loving-kindness of the Lord; but he put thy charity to the proof, to see what vehement entreaties thou wouldst make for the deliverance of the nation.' When the same people were like to be overrun by the Philistines, what course did Samuel take? Says he, "Gather all Israel to Mizpeh" (which was a proseucha, or place for public prayer), "and I will pray for you to the Lord[q]." "And you shall find most victorious success upon it[r]." What comfortable orators are the mighty saints of God! What a safeguard it is unto us all, when they live among us! 'A wise man is the price and redemption of many fools,' says a heathen: so a Mediator that is very dear to God, is a protection not only to the good, but to the wicked that are about him. Have we not cause, then, to pray for the continuance of such, that they may live long to pray for us? Should Paul need to desire the prayers of the Thessalonians[s]? or of the Hebrews[t]? Could they forget that, which so much concerned their welfare? Now the worthy servants of the Lord may prevail much one by one: others of the common rank had need to meet by hundreds, and by thousands, in great congregations, that every single man's prayer may be a drop in a shower, that while every man prays for all, all may pray for every man. So great is the opinion of good consequents from the intercession of God's servants, that infidels and ungodly, who thought it would be labour in vain to speak to God for themselves, have sued unto the saints on earth to prefer petitions for them. Darius that worshipped false gods, sent to the Jews at Jerusalem, to "pray for the life of the king and his sons[u]." And they that persecuted Jeremy, besought him, "Pray for us unto the Lord our God[x]." And Simon Magus turned himself to Peter and the apostles to intercede for him, "Pray unto the Lord for me, that none of these things which

[p] Psalm cvi. 23. [q] 1 Sam. vii. 5. [r] Verse 10.
[s] 1 Thess. v. 25. [t] Chap. xiii. 18. [u] Ezra, vi. 10.
[x] Jer. xlii. 20.

you have spoken, come upon me[y]." This is the sum, that intercession of prayer, whether active or passive, whether it be to give or to receive a blessing, is exceeding full of consolation.

2. To go in order to the next head: Who they be that shall get benefit and comfort by prayer, is quickly defined. We know that "all things work together for good to them that love God[z];"—to none other, you may be sure. He that doth not truly call the God of heaven his Father, as Christ begins his prayer,—shall have no share in the portion of sons. We may intercede for profane and impenitent men, and our prayer shall return into our own bosom. But while they remain such, the mercies of the Lord will be strange unto them. They are not of the body of the mystical church, and all the fresh springs are derived unto them that are within the sanctuary. While the Jews continued under the hardness of their heart, God discharged the prophet for appearing in their behalf: "Pray not thou for this people, neither lift up cry nor prayer for them, neither make intercession to me, for I will not hear thee[a]." And with no less, or rather more severity[b], "Though these three men, Noah, Job, and Daniel, were in the land, they should deliver none but their own souls." And if the wicked commence a suit in their own name, the Lord will not be entreated of them. What have they to do with holy ordinances, that have no fellowship with holy practices? To come before the Lord with a lap full of sins, and a mouth full of prayers, what an heterogeneal sacrifice is it! Will the Mediator, Christ Jesus, bring it for them before his Father? "If I regard iniquity in my heart, the Lord will not hear me[c]." "And the throne of iniquity shall have no fellowship with thee[d]."

Many in our land, and in our days, pray for the confusion of them that brought all to confusion; but themselves are in pursuance of notorious crimes, and rebellion against God. They would advance that government, to which we have sworn to be faithful by the oaths of supremacy and allegiance: but they make no conscience to break their oaths and covenants, which they have made to God. It is not to

[y] Acts, viii. 24. [z] Rom. viii. 28. [a] Jer. vii. 16.
[b] Ezek. xiv. 14. [c] Psalm lxvi. 18. [d] Psalm xciv. 20.

suppress sin, and tyranny, and injustice, that they are instant with God; but to be revenged for their own injuries and losses. Their prayers are compounded with such sins as quite mar them. So many a pair of beads have been dropt in corners for the extirpation of the protestant religion. Many a mass hath been said for the good success of Jesuitical treasons. Many a rosary was run over to bring the powder treason to its bloody birth. If they have no better stuff than this in their matins, they had as good pray to devils as to saints. "I will that men pray always, or every where, lifting up holy hands, without wrath[e]." Let go wrath, and malice, and bitterness. Holiness becometh the house of prayer, and holiness becometh the mouth of prayer. "If any man be a worshipper of God, and doth his will, him he heareth[f]." Do justly, live chastely, give charitably, walk circumspectly, and then pray confidently. "For whatsoever we ask, we receive of him, because we keep his commandments, and do those things which are pleasing in his sight[g]."

But then will the trembling Christian say, "Wo is me, for I am a great sinner; wo is me, for I am filthy, and polluted, and of unclean lips[h]:" then how shall I turn me to my God in prayer? O thou that fallest low upon the earth, oppressed with the burden of thy sins, stand up, and be cheerful before God: none is fit for prayer in the militant church but such an humble sinner. God draws thee, and none but those that are like unto thee, near unto his mercy. Though thy sins do cleave unto thee, be comforted that thou dost not cleave unto thy sins. Elkanah gave a more worthy portion to Hannah, that was barren, but meek and devout, than to Peninnah, that bare him sons and daughters, but was proud and scornful[i]. God hath heard his beloved Son, when he made prayers for sinners; will hear those sinners that are his sons, when they ask any thing in the name of Christ.

3. Good fruit must be brought forth in a good season, which only remains to be thought upon, and to be added to the consolation of prayer. "For every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven[k]."

[e] 1 Tim. ii. 8. [f] John, ix. 31. [g] 1 John, iii. 22.
[h] Isaiah, vi. 5. [i] 1 Sam. i. 5. [k] Eccles. iii. 1.

But neither days, nor hours, nor seasons, did ever come amiss to faithful prayer. "Evening, and morning, and at noon, will I pray, and cry aloud, and he shall hear my voice[l]:" which includes all the space of duration: for all time is included in 'morning, noon, and night.' "Pray without ceasing[m]." "Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance[n]." Short passes, quick ejections, concise forms and remembrances, holy breathings, prayers like little posies, may be sent forth without number on every occasion, and God will note them in his book.

But all that have a care to walk with God, fill their vessels more largely as soon as they rise, before they begin the work of the day, and before they lie down again at night: which is to observe what the Lord appointed in the Levitical ministry, a morning and an evening lamb to be laid upon the altar. So with them that are not stark irreligious, prayer is the key to open the day, and the bolt to shut-in the night. But as the skies drop the early dew, and the evening-dew upon the grass,—yet it would not spring and grow green by that constant and double falling of the dew, unless some great showers, at certain seasons, did supply the rest; so the customary devotion of prayer, twice a day, is the falling of the early and the latter dew; but if you will increase and flourish in the works of grace, empty the great clouds sometimes, and let them fall into a full shower of prayer: choose out the seasons in your own discretion, when prayer shall overflow, like Jordan in the time of harvest.

Keep strictly, as much as you are able, to those times of the day, which you have designed to appear in before the Lord: for then you offer up not only your prayers, but the strict observation of set times, which is a double sacrifice, and an evidence that you will not dispense to pretermit that holy work for any avocation. He that refers himself at large to pray, when he is at leisure, gives God the worst of the day; that is, his idle time. I account them prudent, therefore, that are precise in keeping canonical hours of prayer, as they call them, so they pray to God alone, who

[l] Psalm lv. 17. [m] 1 Thess. v. 17. [n] Ephes. vi. 18.

alone knows their heart: and so they pray "with the Spirit, and with the understanding[o]:" that is, in a tongue wherein they know what they say, and understand the language wherein they vent the meditations of the Spirit. This was the milk that the church of England gave every day out of her breasts, to praise God in common prayer at set hours, before noon and after, in the assemblies of her devout children. How many have rejoiced to hear the chiming of bells to call them together, and would never miss their station! Thus "Peter and John went together to the temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour[p]." O, when will these profane days come to an end, that we may again, so orderly, so delightfully, appear before the living God?

Of one thing, the devil hath disappointed us many years past in the time of prayer, which was the night-offices of prayer, called 'vigils,' which are disused, because it was feared they grew incident to scandal and uncleanness. And though they be left off (I believe for good reason) in a concourse of open meeting, yet let not God lose his tribute of prayer, which should be paid him in the still and quiet opportunity of the night. The day is God's, and the night is God's; the darkness and light to him are both alike; let not so many hours, as run out from our lying down to our rising up again, pass away without any prayer. Says David, "O Lord, I remembered thee in my bed, and meditated on thee in the night-watches[q]." It seems, while the tabernacle of Moses stood, that the priests did some duties in it all night long[r]. "Bless the Lord, ye servants of the Lord, which by night stand in the house of the Lord." The apostle allowed "widows must continue in supplication and prayers night and day[s];" and Anna, the widow-prophetess, "served God with fasting and prayer night and day[t]." The Lord hath foretold that "he will come as a thief in the night at the great day[u]." Therefore, O Lord, with my soul will I desire thee in the night, and at midnight will I think upon thee, and call unto thee; that if it shall be this

[o] 1 Cor. xiv. 15. [p] Acts, iii. 1. [q] Psalm lxiii. 6.
[r] Psalm cxxxiv. 1. [s] 1 Tim. v. 5. [t] Luke, ii. 37.
[u] 2 Pet. iii. 10.

night, even now, when Christ Jesus will come to judge the world, my soul may find mercy from him, and both body and soul may be glorified, and so continue with him for ever.

All this about the opportunity of time shall shut up with one institution of the Psalmist[x]: "Every one that is godly, shall pray unto thee, O Lord, in a time that thou mayest be found." When you find stirrings and impulsions more than ordinary to provoke you to prayer, follow the admonition of the Spirit, and let not such a time slip. You know not whether such a divine presage may roll in your thoughts again. I make no question but there are some critical moments, wherein God offers more than he will do again, if you neglect him, when he courts you with so great advantage. But now change the case from mine to the whole nation's; from private to public, then thus I will be peremptory in my resolution: There is no time too late for any Christian that lives, in his single person, to beseech God to be merciful to him; he may find the same propitiousness that the penitent thief did: but there may be a time too late to save a kingdom or a state from ruin, when the Lord hath decreed the period of it. Therefore, when confusions threaten and begin to peep out, watch them betimes, and let the whole land pray for peace, and let the governors prepare conditions for it, to avert public calamity. If you let tumults and conspiracies grow to a head, it will be in vain to struggle by monthly or weekly humiliations, when our destiny is unavoidable. Plutarch says, that a discontented person challenged the oracle of Delphos, that it never gave a comfortable answer. 'That is your fault,' says the oracle, 'for none of you come to me till your case is past help.' "Venimus huc lapsis quæsitum oracula rebus," says the poet, that ever keeps decorum in his verses. Therefore, awake right early; seek the Lord in the first season, that the course of misery may not wax too strong and remediless. Otherwise the prophet will say, "The days of visitation are come, the days of recompense are come; Israel shall know it[y]:" and then whither will ye fly for help to be delivered?

[x] Psalm xxxii. 6. [y] Hos. ix. 7.

But prevent such dismal tribulations, while it is called to-day: for nothing is more consolatory than seasonable supplication.

CHAPTER V.

How the Sacraments minister to a Christian's Comfort. A general Survey of Sacraments. Five Reasons why God ordained two Sacraments under the Gospel. What Comforts flow from the Grace of Baptism. What Comforts flow from the Lord's Supper.

THOUGH by that which hitherto hath been set forth, I trust I may assume, that every one that sets his heart to make use of it, hath drunk well; yet, as the ruler of the feast said at the marriage in Cana of Galilee, "I have kept the good," that is, the best, "wine until now[a]:" the water of life in baptism,—the wine that delighteth the spiritual thirst in the Lord's supper. Other things in the word report unto us what a good land the Lord hath promised to his Israel; but these two sacraments are Caleb and Joshua, spies that have seen and searched the land, and bring us sensible and sure tidings, that it is a noble land, flowing with milk and honey; by the grapes which they have brought with them, and by their ocular and diligent survey, they yield evident testimony that God hath provided a gracious country for us in the kingdom of heaven. To put all my work of consolation into one prospect together, prayer, the best comfortable grace, is married to hope; the Holy Ghost gives it in marriage; faith is the priest that joins them together; and the two sacraments are the outward signs, by which they have declared their consent, as it were, by giving and receiving a ring, and by joining of hands.

First; I will treat of sacraments in general; then of each in particular by itself.

"A sacrament being a visible sign of inward grace, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure

[a] John, ii. 10.

us thereof;" or, more at large (which compriseth the end of all such outward signs), "a token to confirm men's faith in the promises of God:"—observe first, that God hath condescended above all expression to our weakness, that he would have us to take notice of his mercies in gross and sensible things: a way that is framed to our level and dull apprehension. "For God is a Spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and truth [b];" that is purely a heavenly way. But some alterations have been admitted, to bring us forward in our own pace, that is, after human and bodily fancies. "Deus quandoque infantilia loquitur;" for our sakes, the Lord speaks in the Scriptures in a plain and vulgar emphasis, strangely beneath his infinite wisdom: as a nurse useth to babble to her infant, so he is pleased to give himself to our hands, to our eyes, to our taste, in common and obvious matter, but out of his surpassing wisdom, to make us more spiritual, by clothing religion in a bodily attire.

The church began in innocency, and yet it began with a sacrament, the Tree of Life,—instituted to keep mankind on earth immortal by tasting it, if Adam had not ambitiously eaten of the tree of knowledge.

When the old world was drowned, and repaired again, God told Noah [c], "I do set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth, that the waters shall no more become a flood, to destroy all the earth." This is the world's covenant, and not the church's; a covenant to save all the earth from a total deluge. And God is to be perceived, and to be thought of in that sign. The glory of the throne of God was "as the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain: this was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord [d]:" and so the same glory is figured in the rainbow [e].

After this, it being not discovered who did openly and entirely profess the worship of the true God; Abraham was called out of Chaldea, and he and his family were embodied into a church, and received the sign of circumcision, as a mark stamped upon them, to be known to be those whom

[b] John, iv. 24.
[c] Gen. ix.
[d] Ezek. i. 28.
[e] Revel. iv. 3.

God had called out for his own, and did admonish them "to circumcise the foreskin of the heart[f]:" chiefly to imprint into them, that the promised seed should come from that stock, in whom all nations should be blessed.

When Abraham's seed became a national church, before they could get out of Egypt, the blood of a lamb was sprinkled upon their doors, with a statute given upon it, that from thenceforth every family, at that time of the year, should give account for a lamb slain, and be eaten within their houses, till John Baptist's Lamb was slain to take away the sin of the world.

Under the like discipline, they were trained up for a while in the wilderness, when Moses set up the figure of a serpent upon a pole, that they might look upon it, and live, that were stung by serpents[g]. The author of the Book of Wisdom writes divinely upon it, "That they might be admonished for a small season it was a sign of salvation,—and he that turned himself toward it, was not saved by the thing he saw, but by thee that art the Saviour of the world[h]."

Neither are we such perfect men under the New Testament, to be taught only by the words of holiness and truth, but are received into the covenant of grace, and preserved in it by mysteries signifying wonderful things to our outward senses, that we may suck, and be satisfied with the church's "two breasts of consolation[i];" and be filled with the "two golden pipes, that empty the golden oil out of themselves[k]."

I stand upon the number of 'two,' because they are put together[l]: "The Israelites were all baptized in the cloud, did all eat the same spiritual meat, and all drank of the same spiritual drink." As good account for it is[m], "By one Spirit we are all baptized into one body, and have been all made to drink into one spirit." Or learn it from St. John[n]: "Christ came not by water alone, but by water and blood. And there are three that bear witness, the Spirit," that is, the ministry of the Gospel, "the water," that is, baptism, and "the blood," that is, the Lord's supper. I

[f] Deut. x. 16.
[g] Numb. xxi. 9.
[h] Chap. xvi. 6, 7.
[i] Isaiah, lxvi. 11.
[k] Zach. iv. 12.
[l] 1 Cor. x. 3.
[m] 1 Cor. xii. 13.
[n] 1 Epist. v. 6.

will not promise a precise testimony out of antiquity, which shall say there are but two sacraments under the Gospel, and no more; but learned men have produced out of the fathers as much as amounts unto it, to them that will not be contentious. Justin Martyr[o], to the emperor, speaks of these two marks, or professed signs of Christianity, and no other. Tertullian against Marcion[p], brings them that are married to baptism and the Lord's supper. St. Cyprian[q], to Stephen, "Then they are sanctified, when they are born again by both sacraments." St. Cyril and St. Ambrose, writing purposely of sacraments, speak but of two. St. Austin[r], to Januarius, "Christ hath subjected us to a light yoke, to sacraments of the smallest number, easy in observation, excellent in dignity; baptism in the name of the holy Trinity, and the communion of Christ's body and blood;" and if any thing else be commanded in Scripture. And many allude to that number from Cant. iv. 5: "Thy breasts are like two young roes that are twins." Here is a brief survey, how God, in all ages, hath communicated with us in sacraments.

May the reason of it be discovered? Nay, "Who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been his counsellor[s]?" Yet it is no trespass against the sobriety of wisdom, to ask why Christian religion depends so much upon visible sacraments?

1. It is to give faith a third manner of corroboration; and a threefold cord is not easily broken. First, God hath promised us all blessings in Christ: Secondly, He gave an oath for it unto Abraham, "That by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie, we might have a strong consolation[t]:" Thirdly, After he had plighted both oath and promise, he hath given us holy signs to confirm it. When God had both promised and sworn, durst we of ourselves have asked a sign to confirm it, to make us more believing? No, truly, we durst not; for "an evil and an adulterous generation seeketh after a sign:" it were a great blemish in faith, if we should appoint God to lend us a crutch to lean upon. But God hath prevented us herein;

[o] 2 Apol. [p] Lib. iii. c. 51. [q] Lib. ii. ep. 1.
[r] Ep. 118. [s] Rom. xi. 34. [t] Heb. vi. 18.

and, as we say in the common prayer, "That which for our unworthiness we durst not ask," he hath supplied of his own accord, and hath instituted sacred signs, wrapt up in the creatures, of most ordinary use, to make it more easy to lay hold of the hope that is set before us.

2. Secondly; Every great deliverance in God's book was accompanied with some outward sign, to make it more comfortable upon so remarkable an impression. As Moses, being appointed to be the captain to lead Israel out of Egypt, was bade to cast his rod before the people, and to let it turn into a serpent, and return unto a rod again; to make his hand leprous, and whole again in an instant, by putting it into his bosom, and by drawing it out. And Moses showed these signs in the sight of the people, and they believed [u]. It would be tedious to recite the stories of Asa, Hezekiah, Joash, &c. These were persuaded, by the signs of God, that he would visit them with a mighty deliverance. But there is no deliverance like unto that, which is brought to pass for us through the death and bloody passion of Christ. And the two sacraments are the remonstrance of that great salvation, which hath set us free out of the hands of all our enemies.

3. Thirdly; It is meet that great benefits should be fastened to our memories by a sure nail. Therefore, God, distrusting man's memory, represents his greatest works of mercy in the ordinances of manifest signs to prevent forgetfulness. The help of some outward mark doth avail by experience, to bring that to mind that else would have slipt away. As upon occasion, we use to tie a thread about our fingers, or to unloose the gemmal of a ring, to make us mindful of a promise or some weighty business.

4. Fourthly; Though all our worship must hold its tenure, as it were, 'in capite,' from the Spirit, if we hope to have it acceptable to God, yet we are better capable of such worship by the opportunity of material conveyances. Only angels and blessed souls in heaven can serve God in the pure and immaterial zeal of their mind. But while we are clothed with flesh, the mind receives all it takes in from bodily objects; and what passeth in by the pipes of the

[u] Exod. iv. 31.

senses, it is connatural to us to apprehend with more tenacity and fast hold.

Finally; As Christ descended into the womb of his mother, to walk with us upon earth, so God hath vouchsafed to offer his word and promise to us in the creatures of the earth; setting a seal unto the word, which makes the patent very valid, and of force and comfort. For if a commandment of promise were remarkable, that of honouring our parents, "the first commandment of promise" in the second table[x],—much more is a seal and sacrament of promise remarkable. Doubt not then, but as faith is our hand to receive Christ, so the sacraments are, as it were, God's hands to give him unto us.

Being past the general survey of visible sacraments, it is time to enter into the consideration of baptism; which God hath exalted to marvellous virtue and consolation, by his omnipotent appointment. The Jews, that first received it, will teach us, that they expected this new and gracious ceremony upon the coming of Christ. For "The priests and Levites sent to ask John, why baptizest thou if thou be not the Christ[y]?" &c. It seems they had a tradition, that baptism should come into the church with the Messias; which they derive, as I take it, from two of the prophets. Isaiah[z] states out a famous praise of Christ's kingdom; then it brings in this, "In that day shall the branch of the Lord be beautiful and glorious; when the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the daughters of Sion, and shall have purged the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof." The other place is a plain prophecy of Christ's kingdom[a], and he thus describes it: "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be cleansed from all your filthiness." John made way unto this sacrament, and it came from heaven; therefore, the "Pharisees rejected the counsel of God, being not baptized of John[b]." But in the fulness of the Gospel Christ confirmed it. For he that made the promise, was the only able person to set the seal to ratify it. Except his admired doctrine and his miracles, all things else about Christ did make no show to outward appearances,

[x] Ephes. vi. 2. [y] John, i. 25. [z] Isaiah, iv. 3.
[a] Ezek. xxxvi. 25. [b] Luke, vii. 30.

so he would go no higher in the institution of an outward sign of cleansing and regeneration, than to bring the people to a river to be washed, or to a vessel of water to be sprinkled. For faith is drawn through these narrow and abject means, that, like himself, have no comeliness 'in specie;' and when we see them, there is no comeliness that we should desire them[c].

Nevertheless, it is fit we should be well taught in the contemplation of the hidden virtue enclosed in baptism, or else we could never think it worth our labour and obedience. Our Common Prayer-Book (a store-house of rare divinity) tells us what is to be expected at that laver for them that come to be baptized.

1. That God hath promised to be the father of the faithful and of their seed, and will most surely perform and keep his promise with them; and by this introduction we are incorporated into the holy congregation. Behold, they whom we love above all others by nature, our children, are naturalized to be the citizens of the heavenly kingdom, and enter into it through this door of grace.

2. Secondly; as God did save Noah and his family from perishing by water, and safely led the children of Israel through the Red Sea, while their enemies were drowned: so the millions of the nations whom God hath not given to Christ for his inheritance, are drowned in their own lusts and corruptions. But, O what a privilege it is to be among those few, that are received into the ark of Christ's church, to be exempted from the common deluge, and to be the faithful seed of Abraham, led through the channel of the sea, and baptized in the cloud, that went along with them, when the armies of the mighty are mightily consumed!

3. Thirdly; we may gather out of our church-office for baptism, that the everlasting benediction of heavenly washing affords two comforts: it signifies the blood of Christ to cleanse us 'per modum pretii,' as the price that was paid to ransom us from death: and the sanctifying of the Holy Spirit to cleanse us, 'per modum habitûs,' by his inbeing and celestial infusion: and both are put together in one collect, 'that all that are baptized, may receive remission of

[c] Isaiah, liii. 2.

sins by spiritual regeneration.' "There is no remission of sin without blood[d]," says the apostle, meaning the invaluable blood of the Lamb of God[e]. And the heavenly thing is represented by the visible element of water; for there must be some aptitude between the sign and the thing signified, else it were not a sacrament;—that as water washeth away the filth of the body, so the blood of Christ delivereth our souls from the guilt and damnableness of sin. "The blood of Christ, his Son, cleanseth us from all sin[f]." The metaphor of cleansing must have respect to baptismal water. Again, "Who loved us, and washed us from our sins in his blood[g]." Where the Scripture speaks of washing from sin, it must be taken from the water of baptism, figuring the virtue of Christ's blood, that in the sight of his Father makes us white as snow. The Scriptures, indeed, strike most upon the other string, and more directly, as "Christ loved the church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word[h]." "He saved us by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost[i]:" and in many other places. Therefore, our liturgy falls most upon the purifying operation of the Spirit, to be shadowed in the outward washing of water. As when it prays, 'Send thy Holy Spirit to these infants, and grant that they may be baptized with water and with the Holy Ghost:' and, 'grant that all that are baptized, may receive the fulness of thy grace.' Spiritual regeneration is that which the Gospel hath set forth to be the principal correlative of baptism. O happy it is for us to be born again by water and the Holy Ghost! For better it were never to be born than not to be born twice.

God put a good mind into us, and reform one great fault in us; which is, that, our baptism being past over a great while ago, we cast it out of our memory, and meditate but little upon the benefits and comforts of it. We are got into the church, and do in a sort forget how we got in. Whereas the whole life of a Christian man and woman should be a continual reflection how in baptism we entered into covenant with Christ, 'to believe in him, to serve him, to forsake

[d] Heb. ix. 22. [e] Verse 14. [f] 1 John, i. 7.
[g] Rev. i. 5. [h] Ephes. v. 25. [i] Titus, iii. 6.

the devil, the vanities of the world, and all sinful desires of the flesh.' Water is a pellucid element to look through it to the bottom: so often look through the sanctified water, to see what Christ hath done for you, and what you have engaged to do for Christ. And there is no heart so full of blackness and melancholy, but will recover upon it, and be as fresh in sound health, as if it were filled with marrow and fatness. Well did St. Paul put baptism among the principals and foundations of Christian doctrine[k]; for all the weight of faith, sanctification, and mercy doth lie upon it. Recount this by particulars.

1. The first thought that my soul hath upon it is, that I am no longer a stranger and foreigner, but a fellow-citizen with the saints, and of the household of God[l]. I am no more afar off, but made nigh by the blood of Christ, partaker of the privileges of the church, and called by the new name which the mouth of the Lord shall name[m],—a Christian.

2. Secondly; I find that I have gained to have the highest point of faith unfolded to me, which was but darkly discerned in the Old Testament, to confess the Holy Trinity, in which faith I was baptized. For because that mystery was revealed at Christ's baptism, it goes ever along with this sacrament: all nations being baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

3. Thirdly; I observe that my Christian engagement allows me not the liberty of sinning after the custom of the world; but obligeth me to the strict discipline of my Lord, to live holily, justly, and soberly, to walk in newness of life, as planted into the likeness of Christ's death, so to die unto sin: for "he that is dead is freed from sin[n]." In every thing, and at all times, I must remember what the sureties at the font, called godfathers and godmothers, did promise for me in my name; which the liturgy of Geneva retains in these words,—'Do you promise to warn this child to live according to God's word, and make the law of God the square of his life to live by?' It is a binding ceremony, and we are brought up from our tender years in the knowledge of it, that we continually may feel the work of the ordinance, to

[k] Heb. vi. 2.
[l] Ephes. ii. 19.
[m] Isaiah, lxii. 2.
[n] Rom. vi. 7.

have our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with clean water[o]. And "as many as are baptized into Christ, have put on Christ[p]." To put on Christ is to follow Christ in the law of a new creature, and to perfect holiness; without which no man shall see God.

4. Fourthly; I have assurance that the Spirit is not disjoined from the water: for God's word cannot fail, that we shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost. "But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God[q]." The power given to keep the covenant makes it a covenant of grace: else we shall administer but the letter, and not the spirit. The outward act of man, unless we make ourselves unworthy, is certainly assisted with the increase of God. If the good effect ensue not, the sacrament doth not want its virtue, but the receiver marred it. Very much is to be ascribed to the word preached: it is a powerful means to convert us, and to save us. "Take heed unto thy doctrine, for in doing this thou shalt save thyself, and them that hear thee[r]." And, "Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth in you[s]." The word disposeth and prepares: God is the efficient cause of our regeneration. Now this sacrament, whether we speak of infants, they are to call to mind how they received the outward seal of grace; or whether we speak of converts of ripe years, who, at the same time, were taught the virtue of it, it hath reason to work more powerfully and effectually upon their knowledge and affections, than doctrine alone: because Christ and his benefits are manifested in a sensible operation, which himself did dignify in his own person, at the waters of Jordan, and afterward institute it to be used by his disciples.

5. The fifth thing that I draw from hence, gives me exceeding consolation in Christ, that no man who is made the child of God, is in the damnable state of sin; therefore, in baptism, being made the adopted child of God, I have obtained the pardon of all sins, original and actual: as Naaman was cured of all his leprosy. "Who saved us by

[o] Heb. x. 21, 22. [p] Gal. iii. 27. [q] 1 Cor. vi. 11.
[r] 1 Tim. iv. 15. [s] 1 Pet. i. 23.

the washing of regeneration[t]." "Be baptized every one of you, in the name of the Lord Jesus, for the remission of sins[u]." So Ananias said to Paul,—"Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins[x]." Yea, but some will cavil, 'Infants have not faith; and God hath set forth Christ to be a propitiation through faith in his blood: and he that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved[y].' I will not contend about it, whether baptized infants have a secret imperceptible habit of faith: I am sure there is innocency of life in them instead of faith. They that are of age to come to the knowledge of faith, must bring their own faith with them to the font: but for infants, they have privilege to be in church-communion, by the faith of the church wherein they were born. There is another contest made by some, that, 'Notwithstanding baptism, original sin remains in us all the days of our life.' True: the sin is not blotted out in the infant, but it is blotted out of the book of God. And as actual sins are pardoned for Christ's sake, yet it cannot be brought about that they should never be done, which are done and past, but it is enough that they shall not be imputed: so original sin cleaves unto us; it is not cast out, for I feel it in me; but it is remitted.

6. For the complement of this subject, the largest and the longest comfort flowing from the grace of baptism is, that we are to rely upon the covenant, made between God and us therein, for the remission of all our sins, which we commit after baptism to the end of our life. Far be it from me to say, that it sufficeth us to cast our eyes back to the covenant then made, as if the bare and historical memory of it did suffice to blot out sins; that is but an empty flash and a vapour of presumption. But this I say,—build upon the eternity and infallibility of God's truth: and then, by a true and sure grasping faith, joined with repentance, renew yourself in God's mercies by the promise of the old baptismal covenant. Repentance is a condition never to be omitted to lift us up again, when we have been overtaken with sins. But faith doth not comfort itself in the sincerity of repentance, which in us is ever imperfect, but in Christ's merits

[t] Tit. iii. 6.
[u] Acts, ii. 38.
[x] Acts, xxii. 16.
[y] Mark, xvi. 16.

once for all, consigned to us in baptism. For the Scriptures speak indefinitely, that the laver of regeneration purgeth away all our sins; it doth not speak restrictively of sins past, as if it did operate no longer than in that moment, when the water is sprinkled: for baptism doth now, at the very present time, save us [z]. And some collect it out of that figurative place [a], "Every thing where the waters do come, shall live." After a shower of rain hath fallen, and ceaseth, the grass continues to grow. By grievous and presumptuous sins we debar ourselves from the sense and comfort of the covenant for the present; yet when we repent, we come not to make a new covenant with God, but to beseech him to be gracious to us for the old covenant's sake; as an adulteress, if she be received again, and pardoned by her husband, is not new married, but accepted for a wife upon the first contract of marriage.

Take some examples of those in the New Testament, that sinned against God, and in their return again did not suppose the first covenant of baptism to be abolished, but they comforted themselves that the mercies promised them would hold firm, and not fail them. St. Paul challengeth the Corinthians [b], that they had been adulterers, effeminate, and much of the like. Yet he speaks thus to them, "Ye are washed, sanctified, justified in the name of the Lord Jesus [c]." In the same manner he deals with the Galatians, who had embraced much false doctrine, mingled Judaism with the Gospel: yet "as many of you as are baptized into Christ have put on Christ [d]." Can any thing equal all these heart-refreshings that swim in the pool of baptism? Therefore, in many ages past, the joy of the neophytes was excessive, that came to be baptized. Many torches were lighted, and carried before them, to show it was the day of their illumination. They came in white garments, and wore them constantly eight days together,—a most festival habit. Yet they affected too much to defer their baptism till their elder, nay, their later years, out of the erroneous principle, that baptism was the healing water for the remission of sins past: and they rather relied upon repentance than upon the bap-

[z] 1 Pet. iii. 21. [a] Ezek. xlvii. 9. [b] 1 Cor. vi.
[c] Ver. 11. [d] Gal. iii. 27.

tism which they had received, for the remission of sins that did follow. Whereas repentance is not a new paction with God, but a return to the use of the old: a restitution, as it were, of our blood, when we had been tainted by committing treason against God; that is repossession of mercy endangered to be forfeited. But were it a new covenant, we should have some new visible sign for it, which never was. Therefore, this is the very soul of mine and every one's baptismal consolation,—that, being once done, it seals pardon for all our sins, through Christ's blood, unto our life's end.

But as if many spouts should open into one cistern, so all comforts conspire to meet in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Nothing else but the actual enjoying of heaven is above it. The church, which dispenseth all the mysteries of salvation, can bring forth no better. Children that are come to age, can ask no more than the whole portion of their father's goods that come unto them: and what is that but the blood of Christ? and this is the New Testament in that blood. Christ is mine, his body is mine, his blood is mine, all is mine. "O be glad and rejoice, and give honour to the Lord God omnipotent, for the marriage of the Lamb is come[e]. And the Spirit saith, write, "Blessed are they that are called to the marriage-supper of the Lamb[f]." It is much to be received into the covenant with God by the former sacrament: is it not more to be kept in covenant by the other? It is much in baptism to be brought from death to life: but what is life without nourishment to preserve it? This keeps us in the lease of the old covenant, that the years of it shall never run out, and expire.

This is food to keep us in health and strength, that we never decay and faint. By it we lay hold of the promise,—"My kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace be removed, saith the Lord that hath mercy on thee[g]." Then why should I not embolden my heart with holy security against all fears? for the Lord hath put himself into my hand, and into my mouth, and into my spirit: of what then should I be afraid? This is that courage which our liturgy sounds forth, as with a shrill trumpet, to all

[e] Rev. xix. 7. [f] Ver. 9. [g] Isaiah, liv. 10.

that come to this banquet well prepared. It begins, that 'it is a comfortable thing to all them that receive it worthily;' it bids us 'come with a full trust in God's mercy, and with a quiet conscience:' it proclaims aloud, 'Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith unto all that truly come unto him, "So God loved the world," &c. "This is a true saying," &c. It hath gathered the sallies of spiritual joy, as it were, into a bundle of myrrh. It adds, 'Christ hath instituted and ordained holy mysteries, as pledges of his love, and for a continual remembrance of his death, to our great and endless comfort.' And if all this put together will not blandish our conscience, and stablish our joy, we would be dull and spirit-broken, though an angel from heaven should come and say unto us, as he did unto Gideon, "The Lord is with thee, thou mighty man of valour[h]." For an angel of the Lord cannot plead so much to the solace of the heart, as the great Angel of the Covenant hath done in these great demonstrations of love, as followeth.

1. First; as baptism was the former, so this is the second visible publication of God's apparent mercy. It is not a bare message, but a lively apprehension of them by palpable means: not in a vision, or a dream, but in a real object. Call to mind that the Lord was angry with Solomon, because his heart was turned from the Lord God of Israel, who had appeared unto him twice[i]. Once the Lord hath appeared unto us in the token of his love by water: and once again he appears unto us in the elements of his holy table. Twice he hath appeared to bless thee. Therefore, "eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart[k]." For if you turn away from comfort, when the Lord hath appeared twice unto you to give it you, he will be angry, and leave you to a thick darkness of sorrow, such as fell upon the land of Egypt.

2. Secondly; the Lord can appear comfortably unto us, though with a sword in his hand, and in the midst of a camp, as he did to Joshua[l]: or, in a flame of fire, as he did to Manoah[m]: or, in a tempest upon the sea, as he did to the apostles[n]: or, at the grave's mouth, as he did to Mary

[h] Judg. vi. 12. [i] 1 Kings, xi. 39. [k] Eccles. ix. 7.
[l] Josh. v. 13. [m] Judg. xiii. 20. [n] Matth. xiv. 27.

Magdalen[o]. But here he appears unto us in a feast, which is a time of innocent delight. The glory of God, which we look for, is set forth unto us in that which our senses apprehend for sweetness and pleasure: as, "I appoint unto you a kingdom — that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom[p]:" which is translated from bodily pleasure to spiritual, that, in the heaven of blessedness, the soul shall feed continually as at a banquet: of which we have now a taste in the kingly provision of Christ's supper. It is a kingly feast, although imparted in a little pittance of bread and wine: yet it is more costly and precious in that which it signifies, than Solomon and all his court had for their diet day by day[q]. We are brought to eat at the king's table, as Mephibosheth was, like one of the king's sons[r]: to eat together is a communion of more than ordinary acquaintance: do you note the endearing favour of God in that? And what are we, that are not thrust, as our kind might look for it, to gather up crumbs under the board, but to eat our portion before the Lord, with the Lord, out of the hands of the Lord? For he that brake bread, and gave it to the apostles, gives it to us, as our High Priest, though he be in heaven. I exhort you, therefore, to enter into the guest-chamber with a quiet and unshaken heart: for the Lord hath not invited us as Absalom did Amnon, to kill us: nor as Esther did Haman, to accuse us: but, as Melchizedec brought forth bread and wine to Abraham, to bless us. He gives us Asher's portion, bread that shall be fat, and royal dainties[s]. Only the case is altered, if Christ shall say, 'The hand of him that betrays me, the hand of him that loves me not, the hand of him that believes not in me, the hand of him that will not keep my sayings, is on the table,' that wretch shall be thrown out, and be fed with bread of sorrow and water of affliction, nay, where there shall not be a drop of water to cool his tongue.

3. Thirdly; that which astonisheth the communicant and ravisheth his heart, is, that this feast affords no worse meat than the body and blood of our Saviour. Those he gave for the life of the world, these are the repast of this supper,

[o] John, xx. 14. [p] Luke, xxii. 29. [q] 1 Kings, iv. 22.
[r] 2 Sam. ix. 11. [s] Gen. xlix. 20.

and these we truly partake. For there is not only the visible reception of the outward signs, but an invisible reception of the thing signified. There is far more than a shadow, than a type, than a figure. Christ did not only propose a sign at that hour, but also he gave us a gift, and that gift, really and effectually, is himself, which is all one, as you would say, spiritually himself; for spiritual union is the most true and real union that can be. That which is promised, and faith takes it, and hath it, is not fiction, fancy, opinion, falsity, but substance and verity. Being strengthened with power, by the Spirit, in the inward mind, Christ dwelleth in our hearts by faith[t]. As by a ring, or a meaner instrument of conveyance, a man may be settled in land, or put into an office; and by such conveyances, the ratification of such grants are held to be real; how much more real is the gift and receipt of Christ's body and blood, when conveyed unto us by the confirmation of the eternal Spirit! For observe, "it is the same spirit that is in Christ, and that is in us, and we are quickened by one and the same spirit[u]." Therefore it cannot choose, but that a real union must follow between Christ and us; as there is a union between all the parts of the body, by the animation of one soul. But faith is the mouth wherewith we eat his body, and drink his blood; not the mouth of a man, but of a faithful man; for we hunger after him, not with a corporeal appetite, but a spiritual; therefore, our eating must be spiritual, and not corporeal. Yet, this is a real, a substantial partaking of Christ crucified, broken, his flesh bleeding, his wounds gaping: so he is exhibited, so we are sure we receive him, which doth not only touch our outward senses in the elements, but pass through into the depth of the soul. For, in true divinity, real and spiritual are equipollent; although with the Papists nothing is real, unless it be corporeal: which is a gross way, to defraud us of the sublime and soul-ravishing virtue of the mystery. "A mystery neither to be set out in words, nor to be comprehended sufficiently in the mind, but to be adored with faith," says Calvin[x]. But herein we pledge Christ in the cup of love; herein we renew the covenant of forgiveness strongly

[t] Ephes. iii. 17. [u] Rom. viii. 11. [x] Lib. Instit. c. 17. sect. 5.

assured by the sprinkling of blood; the life is in the blood; and without shedding of blood is no remission of sins:— because death is the wages of sin. Sin is the greatest dishonour that can be done to God: and death in Christ's person is the greatest satisfaction that can be made. He died, and gave himself for me; he died, and gave himself to me, as he was dead in his gored and pierced body, that his sacrifice might be in me, and in all those that are redeemed by it. We read of some mothers, that, in a great famine, have eaten their own children[y]; but what mother, in the time of famine, did ever give her own flesh to save the life of her child? But Christ hath given himself for us, that we might not perish. "O Lord, I owe all my life to thee, because thou hast laid down thy life for me; O let me bleed out my sins, that thy blood may fill all the veins of my spirit; O let my body be transfigured to the heavenly by cleanliness and chastity, by being used only for thy worship and service, that the body of my Saviour may come under the roof of it. Then when the King shall set forth his table, and give himself to me in his wonderful feast, my spikenard shall send forth a sweet smell[z]; my soul shall magnify the Lord, and my spirit shall rejoice in Christ my Saviour."

'We have found the Messias,' says Philip to Nathanael; and where have we found him? at a feast: a feast of his own body and blood, but set out with no more cost and show than a piece of bread and a sip of wine. In this manner, it is brought to pass by the omnipotency of God's pleasure to institute it, with the efficacy of a strong faith concurring to receive it. The church had done very ill, if, of its own head, it had made so mean a representation of Christ; but the Lord must be obeyed, and ought to be admired in the humility of his ordinance, who hath not given us rich viands, and full cups, but made the feast out of the fragments of the meanest creatures. Let them that will make themselves fit to be his guests, bring a preparation of humility suitable to the exility of those oblations. "The meek shall eat and be satisfied, they shall praise the Lord, and seek him[a];" and at that season, let the riotous remember his fulness of bread, and excess of

[y] 2 Kings, vi. [z] Cant. i. 12. [a] Psalm xxii. 26.

wine. God is honoured in a little, and his liberality is abused in the excess of his creatures. And it is worth the noting, that the elements which we are invited to take, are of fruits that grow out of the earth; to show that the earth, which was cursed for Adam's sake, is blessed for Christ's sake. As it brings forth thorns and thistles to call to mind our rebellion, so it brings forth bread and wine to call to mind our redemption. Neither doth God supply us with bread only out of the furrows of the earth, but sometime it hath fallen out of the clouds of heaven. "Behold," says God, "I will rain bread from heaven for you[b]." This was 'manna,' called 'the corn of heaven[c].' This was the spiritual meat, or angels' food, in which the old believers in the wilderness did eat Christ with an implicit faith. Our outward sign is the bread of the earth, true bread that grows in the fields; yet the bread signified is that, which the "Father hath given us from heaven[d]." Bread is a great part of man's nourishment; so Christ crucified is the sole refection of faith. Bread is champed in the mouth to make it fit for the stomach; so the body of Christ was ordained to be slain, before it could profit us. "If the corn of wheat fall not into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit[e]." By his life we learn to live, and by his death we are made alive. Bread, when it is ground between our teeth, and eaten, is turned by concoction into the substance of our body; which explains our mystical union with Christ, that we are made one spirit with him by faith, as this sensible food is converted into our flesh and bone.

Beside, in the several parts of the outward signs, it is God's meaning we should conceive how he loves the gathering together of many into one, which is thus to be qualified. At a common supper, or any meal, all that are at the board, feed of the same meats; yet every one feeds to himself, and to none beside: so, every communicant eats Christ to himself, and the just shall live by his own faith. Nevertheless, it is a sacrament to combine, and to knit together, holding us fast into one communion, that there may be no breaking asunder of the parts and members.

[b] Exod. xvi. 4. [c] Psalm lxxviii. 24. [d] John, vi. 31. [e] John, xii. 24.

Many grains of wheat are kneaded into one loaf, many grapes are trodden, that their liquor may be pressed into one cup. We, being many, are one bread, and one body; for "we are all partakers of that one bread[1]." Now, natural learning will teach us, what a comfort there is in union, and that fractions and dissolutions are painful and grievous. Behold, how good and pleasant a thing it is! behold, what a strengthening to the mystical body to continue in one fellowship and breaking of bread, to link faith and love together in Jesus Christ! It was but one deliverance common to all Israel, whose solemnity was kept at the passover, though every lamb was eaten by itself in a several family; so, it is one cup of salvation which God hath given us to drink, though distributed to the faithful according to the multitude of persons; and it is one bread of which we do all eat, though some have one share of it, and some another. It is necessary that many pieces be broken off from one loaf, to typify the body of the Lord broken for us, and that the benefits of his passion are distributed among us.

There are many instances that are pregnant to prove, how pieces of something, broken and divided into many shares, do import a communication of somewhat among the dividers. The heathen, at the making of a league, did now and then break a flint-stone into pieces; and they that entered into a league, kept the parts in token of a covenant. Some upon a contract of marriage will break a piece of gold, and the two halves are reserved by the contractors. Shall I go further, and yet come nearest to our case? The Roman soldiers parted our Saviour's garment among them, and in that symbolical accident is shown, that the Gentiles should share in the satisfaction of his death. So Peter takes this morsel of bread,—John, another, &c.; yet Christ is not divided. The same ticket, as it were, in words in substance is put into every hand, on which is written, "Take and eat it in remembrance of me."

"Take it," says Christ: and be not afraid, as Saul was, to take a kingdom, since Christ hath appointed it; be not afraid, as David was, to be a king's son, since such honour is predestinated to thee. Take it, and fear not, as Peter

[1] 1 Cor. x. 17.

did, saying, "Depart from me, Lord, for I am a sinful man;" it is the Lord's delight to seek and to save that which is lost. Take it, and take heed you let not go your hold; the thing is fast and firm, if you do not let it go and lose it. Take it, but not to hold the pleasures of the world, and your sinful lusts in your gripe together; if your hands be full of these things, you can never hold this. Take it, and take Christ with it; for he that made the testament in his blood, hath set the seal unto the testament, which gives you interest and possession of the redemption by his blood. Take it, and reach out your hand, to signify that you receive Christ with the hand of faith. They are too nice, for fear of I know not what, in the Roman church, of losing a crum, or so forth, that they put the body of Christ into the mouth of their disciples: and in pretence that they give it as a mother doth her breast into the mouth of her child; whereas we receive this Sacrament, not as babes, but as those that are grown to the measure of a good age. And if we be not worthy to take it into our hands, we are not worthy to receive it in our mouths. Take it, and eat it; for it is not enough to be sprinkled without, but to feed on Christ, and to digest him within. If upon the supply of corn, and beasts, and cattle, Paul might say, that "God hath filled our hearts with food and gladness[g];" if we are glad of that which sustains us for a time, and yet we must die; how glad will we be to eat of that, as will give us such a life, that will endure for ever! 'Eat of the forbidden tree,' says the serpent to Eve, 'and you shall not die;' but he lied unto her. Therefore, to dissolve the works of the devil, our Saviour hath appointed that which we shall eat, and assured the promise of everlasting life unto it. Eat, as Jonathan did of the honey-comb, that you may be lusty to pursue your enemies; and though Satan hath sworn your death, as Saul did Jonathan's[h]; the Lord will deliver you. Pine not away with the consumption of an evil conscience; but eat, and be strong in the Lord and in his mercy; as the spirit of the Egyptian, who was half dead, came to him again, when he had eaten a little[i]. Eat, and grind the bread between your teeth, to show the Lord's death. For Christ could have

[g] Acts, xiv. 17. [h] 1 Sam. xiv. 44. [i] 1 Sam. xxx. 12.

said,—"This is my body *slain*,—This is my body *crucified*," but he had rather say, "This is my body *broken* for you;" to show the great injuries of his sufferings. Eat, then, and remember you eat the body as it was broken; and remember that you drink the blood, as it flowed out of his wounds.

To keep these things in remembrance is the great design of the Sacrament; an object which keeps the fancy of the soul waking, that otherwise, it may be, would fall asleep. In the sixth of St. John, Christ preacheth over and over of eating his flesh, and drinking his blood without a Sacrament, by the power of faith. But to keep it in fresh and frequent meditation, the Lord hath given us a palpable and signal token, as if he would engrave it upon the palms of our hands, and upon the roofs of our mouths, upon the membranes of our brain, and upon the foreskin of our heart. This is a blessing twice, and twenty times given, because it is given that it may never be forgotten. They that love others, would live in the memory of those they love; it is because Christ loves us entirely, that he would be remembered of us. And no friend will say to another, 'remember me when I am gone,' but that he means reciprocally to remember his friend, to whom he spake it. If you will remember Christ, he will remember you. And the thief on the cross will teach you, that it is good to continue in his memory; "Lord, remember me, when thou comest into thy kingdom." O blessed Christ! thou art good, and dost good: thou hast not only provided an invaluable benefit for thy church, but dost put it into our hands, that we may not lose it; and dost bring it into our eyes by clear ostension, that we may not forget it. We are apt to remember injuries and to forget benefits; unthankfulness will undo us, if we take not heed of it. O rub over your memory, and consider the noble works of the Lord, especially this great work, how he suffered for us unto death. Remember seriously this one thing as you ought, and God will let you forget nothing that will do you good. There is no grievous sin which we incur, but, for the present, Christ is forgotten, as if he had never come to charge us to keep ourselves unspotted from the world. But look upon his wounds which bleed for our transgressions, and it will stanch the flux of sin, and make our hearts bleed, because we have forgotten

obedience. In our distresses, our sickness, and losses, we cry out that God hath forgotten us, he hath forgotten to be gracious, and shuts up his loving-kindness in displeasure. But distrust him not: a mother cannot forget her child, much less such a father. Every tribulation which he inflicts, is but a thorn in our sides to prick us and awake us, because we have forgotten God.

And remember the death of Christ, not only casting your eyes back to the large histories of it in the Gospels, as if that would suffice,—but affectedly, practically, zealously; and then every thing else will come to mind to perfect holiness. When we remember his death, we are sure he is past death, and risen again, now to die no more, and that he is ascended into heaven, and makes intercession for us. We have obtained that faith that we partake in the New Testament of his blood, and that, our names being found in the Testament, we are heirs of God, co-heirs with Christ. The custom of the world will teach us, that an heir is bound to execute the will of the testator, to see every thing performed, that he hath charged and bequeathed. Do your part like a good executor, with a righteous administration in remembrance of him. But forgetfulness cannot creep upon us, when there is so visible a monument before us to bring it often into our thoughts. Luther says, 'It will help a man more in the study of piety, to meditate profoundly upon Christ's passion one day, than to read over all the Psalms of David.' A bold comparison: it will, indeed, ravish the soul with trembling, to consider how much Christ loved us, by how much he suffered for us; it will make us look upon sin with horror, which begat such torment and ignominy to the innocent Lamb of God; it will comfort our weak faith, that he who hath done so great things for us, will not abandon us,—and having subdued our enemies, will not let them renew the battle to overcome us: it will encourage us to lay down our life for him, who hath laid down his life for us. "My meditation of him shall be sweet, I will be glad in the Lord[k]." He hath drunk up the cup of sorrow, that I might drink of nothing but the cup of salvation. This is the wine[l], which, being given unto him that hath a heavy

[k] Psalm civ. 34. [l] Prov. xxxi. 6.

heart, confutes all the objections of infidelity, despair, an evil conscience, or whatsoever the tempter can suggest against the hope of my glorification. Says the son of Sirach[m], "The remembrance of Josias was sweet as honey in all mouths, and as music at a banquet of wine." If the name of Josias was so precious for restoring religion, what melody is there in remembrance of Christ's name, what music in his banquet, which is the very mercy-seat, from whence the voice of the Lord gives the principal oracles of consolation! whose definition I have reserved to be the last words of all: "Consolatio est conveniens unio potentiæ cum objecto;" as our best scholars have it, "Consolation is convenient union of any faculty with its object." As when the eye meets with light, it is the comfort of the eye: when the ear meets with harmony, it is the comfort of the ear. What is the most transcendent consolation, therefore, but the union of the soul with God, the best object, in a real and most significative manner, the union of the Spirit with Christ in the sacrament of his holy supper! To whom be praise, and glory, and thanksgiving. Amen.

[m] Chap. xlix. 1.

THE

SECOND EPISTLE DEDICATORY

TO

A NEW AND EASY INSTITUTION

OF

GRAMMAR,

1647[a].

To the most hopeful, CHRISTOPHER HATTON, *Esquire, Son and Heir to the Right Honourable the Lord* HATTON, *of Kirby.*

SIR,

ALL that know the infinite desires and the many cares, my lord your most honoured father hath of your education in learning and exemplary piety, will expound this address to you, as a compliance with those thoughts and designs of his, by which he intends hereafter to represent you to the world, to be a person like himself; that is, an able instrument of serving God, and promoting the just and religious interests of God's vicegerent and God's church. It is yet but early day with you, 'Adhuc tua messis in herba:' but if we may conjecture by the most hopeful prognostics of a clear morning, we who are servants and relatives of my lord your father, promise to ourselves the best concerning you; and those are, that you will become such as your honourable father intends you, who had rather secure to you a stock of wisdom than of wealth, or of the most pompous honours. These sadnesses, which cloud many good men at this present, have taught us all, that nothing can secure a happiness or create one, but those inward excellencies, which, like diamonds in the night, sparkle in despite of darkness. And give me leave to tell you this truth, that however nature and the laws of the kingdom may secure you a great fortune, and mark you with the exterior character of honour,—yet your fortune will be but a load of baggage, and your honour an empty gaiety, unless you build and adorn your house

[a] See page xxvi. of the Life.—A copy of the Grammar is preserved in Caius College, Cambridge, D. h. 5.

as your father does, with the advantages and ornaments of learning, upon the foundation of piety. In order to which give me leave to help you in laying this first stone, which is cut small, and yet according to the strictest rules of art, but with a design justly complying with your end; for it is contrived with no small brevity, that since you are intended for a long journey, to a great progress of wisdom and knowledge, you may not be stopped at your setting out, but proceed like the sun, whose swiftness is just proportionable to the length of his course. For, Sir, you will neither satisfy your honourable father's care, nor the expectation of your friends, nor the humblest desires of your servants; if you hereafter shall be wise and pious but in the even rank of other men.

We expect you to show to the world an argument, and make demonstration whose son you are, that you may be learned even to an example, pious up to a proverb: and unless you excel those bounds, which custom and indevotion hath made to be the term and utmost aim of many of your rank, we shall only say 'you are not vicious, not unlearned;' and what a poor character that will be of you, yourself will be the best judge, when you remember who and what your father is. Sir, this freedom of expression, I hope you will pardon, when you shall know that it is the sense and desires of one of the heartiest and devoutest of your most honoured father's servants; who hath had the honour to have so much of his privacies communicated to him, as to be witness of his cares, his sighs, his hopes and fears concerning you; and for the advantage and promotion of your best interests. I hope, Sir, that neither this monition, nor the present Institution of the first, but the most necessary, art and instrument of knowledge, will become displeasing to you, especially if you shall accept this testimony from me, that it is done with much care and choice; and though the scene lies in Wales, yet the representment and design is one of the instances for Kirby, and that it is the first and the least testimony of the greatest service and affection, which can proceed from the greatest affections and obligations; such as are those of, Honoured Sir,

Your most obliged and affectionate servant,

J. T.

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INTERPRETATION.

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